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NEW SERIES, VOL. VII.—1901.

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PREFACE.

THE SEVENTH VOLUME OF THE NEW SERIES OF THE JOURNAL OF THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION for the year 1901 contains the Papers which were laid before the Congress at Leicester, and one of those which were read at Newcastle-on-Tyne, besides several which were read during the recent Sessions (1899, 1900, 1901) in London, together with the Proceedings of the Congress at Leicester, and the Evening Meetings. In the department allotted to Antiquarian Intelligence will be found accounts of some of the most interesting discoveries of the year, and notices of recent books of archæological or historical interest. Many plates and drawings, for some of which we are indebted to the Authors of Papers, continue to embellish the volume, and the Association is thus enabled to render the book more attractive than would otherwise be possible.

Many interesting discoveries have marked the opening year of the twentieth century in all branches of archæology. Among the most remarkable of those which belong to our own country is the fact that positive evidence has been brought to light by the spade—that invaluable and indispensable handmaid of research—that our great national monument of prehistoric times at Stonehenge must be assigned to the Neolithic Age, and that it was in all probability erected by the pre-Celtic, *i.e.*, the Iberian, inhabitants of these islands some fifteen centuries at least before the Christian era.

Meanwhile Mr. Evans's discoveries in Crete have been continued, and have yielded fresh material for the

elucidation of the pre-Mycenean and Mycenean civilisation of that island. Other discoveries of a somewhat later age have been made by an Italian expedition in another part of Crete, and the continued exploration of the Forum at Rome has not only enabled historians to gain an insight into its appearance throughout the period of the Kings, Republic, and Empire, but has also thrown a flood of light upon the earliest history of the city, and has proved that Livy was a more accurate writer than the destructive school of critics would admit. Further accounts of these, and other results of patient "digging," will, we hope, be included in our next volume.

Like its predecessors the year has not passed without several old and valued members of the Association being called away, among whom we may mention Col. Lambert, F.S.A., whose obituary appears in this volume; Mr. Arthur Cates, for twenty years a member and a constant attender at our Meetings and Congresses, whose cheery presence and kindly counsel will be much missed; and Mr. Edward Fry, whose last contribution, pertaining to the Roman "finds" at Dover and Walmer, has a place in these pages.

It is to be hoped that those whose names have been added to our roll during the last few years will prove themselves as ardent archæologists as those were who have passed away, and that the Association will never want for members who are authorities in one or other of the innumerable branches of antiquarian science, and who by their energy and their devotion, will keep alive the traditions of the past. In this hope we bid each of our Associates, and each one who joins our ranks: "RESPICE, PROSPICE, ASPICE!"

H. J. DUKINFELD ASTLEY.

December 31st, 1901.

British Archaeological Association.

THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that Institution by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object are:

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies, as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archæology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions of Ancient National Monuments, and, by means of Correspondents, preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities not later than 1750, which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public Meetings are held from November to June, on the Wednesdays given on the next page, during the session, at eight o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Associates have the privilege of introducing friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Associates, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries; or to the Sub-Treasurer, Samuel Rayson, Esq., 32 Sackville Street, W., to whom subscriptions, by Post Office Order or otherwise, crossed "Bank of England, W. Branch", should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or FIFTEEN GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to acquire the publications of the Association at a reduced price.

Associates are required to pay an entrance fee of ONE GUINEA, except when the intending Associate is already a member of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Royal Archæological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archæology, in which case the entrance-fee is remitted. The annual payments are due in advance.

Papers read before the Association should be transmitted to the *Editor* of the Association, 32, Sackville Street; if they are accepted by the Council they will be printed in the volumes of the *Journal*, and they will be considered to be the property of the Association. Every author is responsible for the statements contained in his paper. The published *Journals* may be had of the Treasurer and other officers of the Association at the following prices:—Vol. I, out of print. The other volumes, £1:1 each to Associates; £1:11:6 to the public, with the exception of certain volumes in excess of stock, which may be had by members at a reduced price on application to the Honorary Secretaries. The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the public, £1:11:6; to the Associates, 5s.

By a Resolution of the Council, passed on January 18th, 1899, Associates may now procure the Volumes of the First Series (I-L), so far as still in print, at 5s. each, or the single parts at 1s. 3d. each.

In addition to the *Journal*, published every quarter, it has been found necessary to publish occasionally another work entitled *Collectanea Archæologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, and sold to the public at 7s. 6d. each Part, but may be had by the Associates at 5s. (*See coloured wrapper of the quarterly Parts.*)

An Index for the first thirty volumes of the *Journal* has been prepared by Walter de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A. Present price to Associates, 5s.; to the public, 7s. 6d. Another Index, to volumes xxxi-xlii, the *Collectanea Archæologica*, and the two extra vols. for the Winchester and Gloucester Congresses, also now ready (uniform). Price to Associates, 10s. 6d.; to the public, 15s.

Public Meetings held on Wednesday evenings, at No. 32, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, at 8 o'clock precisely.

The Meetings for Session 1900-1901 are as follows:—1900, Nov. 7, 21; Dec. 5; 1901, Jan. 16, 30; Feb. 6, 20; March 6, 20; April 3, 17; May 1 (Annual General Meeting 4.30 p.m.), 15; June 5.

Visitors will be admitted by order from Associates; or by writing their names, and those of the members by whom they are introduced. The Council Meetings are held at Sackville Street on the same day as the Public Meetings, at half-past 4 o'clock precisely.

RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.

THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of Patrons, Associates, Local Members of Council, Honorary Correspondents, and Honorary Foreign Members.

1. The Patrons,—a class confined to members of the royal family or other illustrious persons.
2. The Associates shall consist of ladies or gentlemen elected by the Council, and who, upon the payment of one guinea entrance fee (except when the intending Associate is already a Member of the Society of Antiquaries of London, of the Royal Archæological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archæology), and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or fifteen guineas as a life-subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of Officers and Council, and admit one visitor to each of the ordinary meetings of the Association.
3. The Local Members of Council shall consist of such of the Associates elected from time to time by the Council, on the nomination of two of its members, who shall promote the views and objects of the Association in their various localities, and report the discovery of antiquarian objects to the Council. There shall be no limit to their number, but in their election the Council shall have regard to the extent and importance of the various localities which they will represent. The Local Members shall be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council, to advise them, and report on matters of archæological interest which have come to their notice; but they shall not take part in the general business of the Council, or be entitled to vote on any subject.
4. The Honorary Correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities; to be qualified for election on the recommendation of the President or Patron, or of two Members of the Council, or of four Associates.
5. The Honorary Foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious or learned foreigners who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association there shall be annually elected a President, fifteen Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, Sub-Treasurer, two Honorary Secretaries, and eighteen other Associates, all of whom shall constitute the Council, and two Auditors without seats in the Council.

The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The President, Vice-Presidents, members of Council, and Officers, shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting, to be held on the first Wednesday in May in each year. Such election shall be conducted by ballot, which shall continue open during at least one hour. A majority of votes shall determine the election. Every Associate balloting shall deliver his name to the Chairman, and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two Scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists and report thereon to the General Meeting.

2. If any member of the Council, elected at the Annual General Meeting, shall not have attended three meetings of the Council, at least, during the current session, the Council shall, at their meeting held next before the Annual Meeting, by a majority of votes of the members present, recommend whether it is desirable that such member shall be eligible for re-election or not, and such recommendation shall be submitted to the Annual Meeting on the ballot papers.

CHAIRMAN OF MEETINGS.

1. The President, when present, shall take the chair at all meetings of the Association. He shall regulate the discussions and enforce the laws of the Association.

2. In the absence of the President, the chair shall be taken by the Treasurer, or by the senior or only Vice-President present, and willing to preside; or in default, by the senior elected Member of Council or some officer present.

3. The Chairman shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Association, discharge all debts previously presented to and approved of by the Council, and shall make up his accounts to the 31st of December

in each year, and having had his accounts audited he shall lay them before the Annual Meeting. Two-thirds of the life-subscriptions received by him shall be invested in such security as the Council may approve.

THE SECRETARIES.

The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the Members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association. The notices of meetings of the Council shall state the business to be transacted, including the names of any candidates for the office of Vice-President or Members of Council, but not the names of proposed Associates or Honorary Correspondents.

THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the Associates; whose names, when elected, are to be read over at the ordinary meetings.

2. The Council shall meet on the days on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require, and five members shall be a quorum.

3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.

4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices or among its own members, notice of proposed election being given at the immediately preceding Council meeting.

5. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the Annual Meeting.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The ordinary meetings of the Association shall be held on the first and third Wednesdays in November, the first Wednesday in December, the third Wednesday in January, the first and third Wednesdays in the months from February to April inclusive, the third Wednesday in May, and the first Wednesday in June, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely, for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.

The Annual General Meeting of the Association shall be held on the first Wednesday in May in each year, at 4.30 P.M. precisely, at which the President, Vice-Presidents, and officers of the Association shall be elected, and such other business shall be conducted

as may be deemed advisable for the well-being of the Association; but none of the rules of the Association shall be repealed or altered unless twenty-eight days' notice of intention to propose such repeal or alteration shall have been given to the Secretaries, and they shall have notified the same to the Members of the Council at their meeting held next after receipt of the notice.

2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty Associates, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly, stating therein the object for which the meeting is called.

3. A General Public Meeting or Congress shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom, at such time and for such period as shall be considered most advisable by the Council, to which Associates, Correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.

4. The Officers having the management of the Congress shall submit their accounts to the Council at their next meeting after the Congress shall have been held, and a detailed account of their personal expenses, accompanied by as many vouchers as they can produce.

ANNULMENT OF MEMBERSHIP.

If there shall be any ground alleged, other than the non-payment of subscriptions, for the removal of any Associate, such ground shall be submitted to the Council at a Special Meeting to be summoned for that purpose, of which notice shall be given to the Associate complained of, and in default of his attending such meeting of Council, or giving a satisfactory explanation to the Council, he shall, if a resolution be passed at such meeting, or any adjournment thereof, by two-thirds at least of the members then present for such removal, thereupon cease to be a member of the Association. Provided that no such resolution shall be valid unless nine members of the Council at least (including the Chairman) shall be present when the resolution shall be submitted to the meeting.

LIST OF CONGRESSES.

Congresses have been already held at	Under the Presidency of
1844 CANTERBURY . . .	THE LORD A. D. CONYNNGHAM, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1845 WINCHESTER . . .	
1846 GLOUCESTER . . .	
1847 WARWICK . . .	
1848 WORCESTER . . .	
1849 CHESTER . . .	
1850 MANCHESTER & LANCASTER . . .	J. HEYWOOD, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1851 DERBY . . .	SIR OSWALD MOSLEY, Bt., D.C.L.
1852 NEWARK . . .	THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE
1853 ROCHESTER . . .	RALPH BERNAL, Esq., M.A.
1854 CHEPSTOW . . .	
1855 ISLE OF WIGHT . . .	THE EARL OF PERTH AND MELFORT
1856 BRIDGWATER AND BATH . . .	
1857 NORWICH . . .	THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE, F.S.A.
1858 SALISBURY . . .	THE MARQUESS OF AILESBUURY
1859 NEWBURY . . .	THE EARL OF CARNARVON, F.S.A.
1860 SHREWSBURY . . .	BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1861 EXETER . . .	SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, Bt.
1862 LEICESTER . . .	JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1863 LEEDS . . .	LORD HOUGHTON, M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A.
1864 IPSWICH . . .	GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., M.P., F.S.A.
1865 DURHAM . . .	THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND
1866 HASTINGS . . .	THE EARL OF CHICHESTER
1867 LUDLOW . . .	SIR C. H. ROUSE BUGHTON, Bt.
1868 CIRENCESTER . . .	THE EARL BATHURST
1869 ST. ALBAN'S . . .	THE LORD LYTTON
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INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.



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QUEEN VICTORIA.

JANUARY 22nd, 1901.

Since the last Part of our *Journal* was issued, an event has happened which plunged not only the British Empire but the whole world into mourning. Our beloved Queen-Empress has passed away. It was a call which we knew must come sooner or later, but we hoped it might not be yet.

The sense of world-wide sympathy is soothing to us in our grief, for every Briton feels that he is not only the sharer in a public calamity, but that he has himself sustained a private and individual loss. This is not the place to add anything to the countless tributes that have been offered to her late Majesty, among whose many virtues must be reckoned her interest in everything that promoted the intellectual advancement of her people. We cannot forget that in the year 1893 she was for a time personally connected with this Association, whose Patron she graciously consented to become during the Congress held in that year at Winchester. Her memory will be an undying heritage to the posterity of the generations which revered and loved her.

Thus, in this opening year of the twentieth century, we have been forced to realise that "the old order changeth, yielding place to new."

We pass from our mourning for the beloved Sovereign taken from us to greet with hearty loyalty our new King, and his gracious Consort, Queen Alexandra. The King comes to us bearing the historic name of Edward. He, too, is not unconnected with this Association. In 1876 he was our Patron, as Duke of Cornwall, at the Congress held at Bodmin and Penzance; and again, as Prince of Wales, at Llangollen, in 1877; at Cardiff, in 1892; and at Conway, in 1897. His interest in all matters concerning the intellectual welfare of the people is as marked as was that of Queen Victoria; and we feel sure that during his reign, which we trust may be prolonged and prosperous, he will be found a wise and liberal patron of the arts and sciences, which constitute so large a part of the greatness of the nation.



THE JOURNAL
OF THE
British Archaeological Association.

MARCH 1901.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

BY THE LATE R. SMITH-CARINGTON, HIGH SHERIFF OF LEICESTERSHIRE, F.S.A.,
J.P., AND D.L.

(Read at the Leicester Congress, July 30th, 1900.)



THE British Archæological Association, which I have the honour to represent, has been established for fifty-seven years; it has been very successful, has done much good work, and will, I trust, do far more in the future.

Here, at the commencement, I must say that, much as one dislikes repeating what has been said before, it is simply impossible to give an address upon archæology, the matter of which has never been discussed: because archæology is a science which treats of antiquities, and is totally opposed to romance; it forbids invention! We must recover hidden facts, and then explain them in the best way we can. We may succeed in finding matters that have been overlooked for centuries, and happy is the man who finds lost treasures connecting the present with the past.

Archæology is the study of ancient material records, including every sort and kind of antiquity, pre-historic and otherwise; it may be crumbling masses of stone,

relics of buildings in past ages, frescoes or decorations on walls long hidden by plaster, old carving in wood or stone, ancient coins, metal work, armour, and such matters: utilised if recovered in time, or lost for ever. In the words of a writer in the last century, "There is an exquisite pleasure in rescuing the memory of past days from the dust scattered over it by time, of which none but those engaged in the pursuit can have any idea."

According to British history, the town of Leicester was founded by King Lear about 3111 anno mundi. This was one hundred and forty years before the foundation of Rome. It is remarkable that in all the books I have referred to, it is stated that on April 20th, 3251 A.M., Romulus laid the foundation of that city seven hundred and fifty-three years B.C. No story of the old kings is so well known as that of King Lear and his three daughters: Goneril, Regan, and Cordelia; whose characters are so lucidly sketched in one of the noblest tragedies of our noblest poet, and through Shakspeare's genius the memory of Lear will continue to the end of time.

All historians agree that England was first divided into shires by Alfred the Great, whose death a thousand years ago will be celebrated, I hope, gloriously next year, 1901.

Leicestershire lies nearly in the middle of England; its outline on a map roughly resembles a heart, and in its centre stands the town of Leicester. Its first name seems to have been *Caer-Lerion*, meaning a city on the river Lear—as Derby is derived from the *Derwent*, Colchester from the *Colne*, Lancaster from the *Lune*, and Ribbleschester from the *Ribble*. During the Roman occupation Leicester was called *Rataë*. The river Soar was anciently called the *Lear*.

In 679 Leicester became the See of a Bishop, which bishopric was afterwards removed to Lincoln. This ancient town being built on the Foss Way, that great military road made by the Romans from London through Leicester to Grimsby, and situated conveniently for intercourse with the legions, garrisons, and camps, made *Rataë* (Leicester) a very important station, at the crossing of the Foss Way by another road, which led from the

mouth of the Axe river in Devonshire to Lincoln, and across the Via Devana at Leicester, the latter road running from Chester (Deva) to Colchester.

In the *Itinerary* of Antoninus, written A.D. 320, by order of the Emperor for the use of troops when marching through any of the sixteen Roman provinces, the names and distances in miles from one garrison to another are given, also the names of the various stations upon the great military highways. Rataë, or Leicester, was number eleven on the *Itinerary* list.

The Roman occupation of Leicester commenced A.D. 50, when Ostorius was Proprætor or President of Britain. He established a chain of fortresses from the Severn to the river Nene near Peterborough, to check the unsubdued tribes of the north, and from that base it passed through Leicestershire to the Irish Sea. The brook dividing Ashby Folville from Gaddesby is still called at this point "Ostor's Ford," after the Roman general. In the same year 50, Caractacus, King of South Wales, revolted against Ostorius, but he was defeated.

Caractacus took refuge with Cartismandua, Queen of the Brigantes, and was by her treacherously given up to Ostorius, who carried him in chains to Rome. With a fearless countenance and in a noble speech he defended his right to fight for the freedom of his people, and the Emperor Claudius generously granted to him and his followers a free pardon.

In Leicester and the neighbourhood there are many excellent examples of Roman encaustic pavements; doubtless more are still hidden underground, to be found hereafter. Besides mosaic tiles, many vases, urns, and other forms of Roman pottery have been frequently found; also silver and copper coins in abundance, belonging to the time of Vespasian (?) and fifteen other Emperors: Titus, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus, Maximian, Diocletian, Constantius, Constantine the Great, Constantine junior, Valentinian, Theodosius, Gratian, Arcadius, Honorius, etc.

In 1730 six hundred brass coins of Diocletian, Maximian, Maxentius, and Constantine the Great, were found in the town. One of the most curious Roman relics is a

mile-stone, discovered in 1771, by the side of the Foss Way, about two miles north of the town. The stone is cylindrical, and the letters are rudely carved; it is 3 ft. 6 ins. in height, and 5 ft. 7 ins. in circumference. The Corporation, in 1873, removed it to Belgrave Gate, but it is now in the Leicester Museum. The inscription is very much defaced, but Mr. F. Haverfield reads it thus :

IMP . CAES .
 DIV . TRAIANI PARTH . F . DIV . NER . NEP .
 TRAIAN . HADRIAN . AUG . P . P . TRIB .
 POT . IV . COS . III — A RATIS .
 II.

and expands it as follows :

Imperatore Caesare, divi Traiani Parthici filio, divi Nervæ nepote Traiano Hadriano Augusto patre patriæ tribunicia potestate iv., Consule iii. A Ratis [millia passuum] ii.

He adds : “ The only doubt is whether the inflexions to every one of Hadrian’s names and titles should be, in the ablative absolute, or in the dative ‘in honour of’; but probably the people who drafted the inscription did not attach much importance to the point.”

Hadrian is said to have been in England in his third Consulship, with which this inscription agrees. It is therefore probable the Foss Way was made by his order about 120 A.D. For a time this stone was used as a garden roller, but it was rescued from such improper use by Bishop Percy, who in 1765 published his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*. (Thomas Percy, D.D., Bishop of Dromore, born 1728 at Bridgnorth; died 1811.) The beautiful Roman tessellated pavement in Friar’s Causeway, which was laid more than 1800 years ago, was discovered in 1832 in digging the foundation for the house which still stands partly over it.

In 1882 the Museum Committee suggested to the Town Council the purchase of the house and premises, eventually accomplished. The entire pavement is 24 ft. square, having a border round it 16 ins. wide. It is a marvel of constructive skill, of variety and beauty in form and colour. The marvel arises from the almost beggarly materials out of which the designer has produced his truly harmonious effects—no squared, artificially coloured,

or glazed tesserae are used—but little pieces, irregularly-broken, of brick and stone. There are three different shades of broken brick : bright red, dull or Indian red, and a shade between the two ; slate from a neighbouring quarry gives the dark bluish-grey, an oolite supplies the rich buff, and a fine white limestone is used for the centre and borders. The site of this pavement is about the centre of the old Roman town, and it was obviously the principal house or villa of the district, and therefore the residence of the Prefect, or local representative of the Imperial power of Rome.

Julius Cæsar, in his *Commentaries*, expressed admiration at the main roads leading not only north, south, east and west, but also following the sea line all round Britain ; not mere tracks, but properly made and metalled roads, with cuttings through hills, and hundreds of miles of embankments over marshes and fens, as proved by the remains that have existed more than two thousand years. Cæsar says the whole country, so far as he fought his way, was intersected by cross-roads, over which wheeled wagons of supplies and large numbers of chariots could, and did, advance on his flanks ; so that while Caswallan, the British General, held him in check on the main road, his flanks were harassed by the charioteers and cavalry from the cross-roads ; and if attacked or pressed, they rejoined their main body and advanced by new routes. Owing to the various methods of easy and rapid locomotion, Cæsar's troops were never able to hold more land than they stood upon. To foresee the value of roads, and make them easy and direct from place to place, requires perceptive and reflective faculties of a high order. Among savages the first wish is to build a wall round their village to keep it secure ; also to make the way to it as difficult as possible, for the better safety of its inhabitants. Moses seems to have been one of the first roadmakers, when he commanded highways to be made from every part of Palestine to the Cities of Refuge for sanctuary. There are frequent references to roads and byeways in the Bible, in striking contrast to the pathless state of very early European countries. Many highways existed in Britain before the Roman occupation !

As my subjects are confined to this county, a short account of the ancient Earls of Leicester will not be out of place nor, I trust, wearisome.

The first of whom we can speak with any confidence was Leofwine, Saxon Earl of Leicester, who died in 1001.

By his wife Alwara, daughter of Athelstan Minneson, a Danish Duke of the East Angles, he left a son,

Leofric the Great, Earl of Mercia, who died August 31, 1057, and was buried in the monastery at Coventry. By the Lady Godiva, his wife, he had two sons; the elder,

Algar, succeeded his father as Earl of Mercia, and died 1059; he also was buried at Coventry. (His younger brother, Hereward the Wake, was a famous Anglo-Saxon General at the battle of Hastings.)

Edgar, Earl of Mercia, son of Earl Algar and his wife Alversa, daughter of William Malet, and grandson of the far-famed Lady Godiva, was restored to the honours of his father by William the Conqueror. He was, therefore, the first Earl of Leicester under the Norman dynasty. Edgar died in 1071.

There is no record of the appointment of another Earl of Leicester until 1107, when Robert de Beaumont, son of Roger de Beaumont, who is called the "noblest, the wealthiest, and most valiant seigneur of Normandy, descended from the kings of Denmark through Bernard the Dane, who was a companion of Rollo, the first Duke of Normandy," received the Earldom.

Robert, first Earl of this family, was in command of the second division of the English army at Tinchebray, September 28, 1106. He then firmly established Henry I on the throne; for which service he was rewarded with a grant of the Earldom and County of Leicester. He rebuilt the Castle, and erected a strong tower on a mount near to it. Robert also built a stately hall, which remains to this day, and is regularly used for the assizes. He married, in 1096, Isabella, daughter of Hugh the Great, Comte de Vermandois, second son of Henry I, King of France. Robert died 1118, and, like his father, was buried at Préaux, in Normandy. Their son, Roger de Beaumont, called Le Bossu, second Earl of Leicester, succeeded 1118;

he married Amicia, daughter and heir of Ralph de Gael, by Emma, daughter of William Fitz-Osborn, Earl of Hereford, by Adeliza, daughter of Robert de Todeu, hereditary Standard Bearer of Normandy, the first Norman possessor of Belvoir Castle. Earl Robert was Justiciar of England from 1155 to 1168. He founded Nuneaton Priory, and in 1143 built the famous Abbey of Leicester. He died 1161, and was buried in the Abbey. Amicia, his wife, died September 1; buried at Nuneaton, year unknown.

In 1168, Robert, called Blanchemains, third Earl, Steward of England and Lord of Hinckley, married Parnell, daughter and heir of Hugh Grantmesnil, and with her acquired vast estates. About this time, Leicester was sacked and burnt by order of Henry II, because the Earl joined Queen Eleanor and her sons against the King; but the Castle resisted all attacks. Eventually the Earl and Countess were taken prisoners, and sent to Falaise in Normandy. Anquetil Mallery, the Constable, defied the King, and would not surrender Leicester. On the King's return to England he brought the Earl, still a prisoner, with him. The King, in 1174, did penance at Canterbury for the murder of Thomas à Becket, and the times became more peaceful. The officers of the Earl interceded for their lord, and angrily the King called for the holy relics, and swore thereon that the Earl should neither eat nor drink till the castles were surrendered. Resistance being impossible, the Castles of Leicester, Groby, and Mountsorrel were yielded up to the King; after which the chief defences were demolished.

Henry II died 1189, and Richard Cœur de Lion restored to the Earl all that his father had confiscated.

The Earl was in the Crusades of 1179 and 1187; he died in Albania in 1190. His son Robert, called Fitz-Parnell, became fourth Earl in 1190; and being at Messina, February 1st, 1191, on his journey to the Holy Land, he was invested with his father's earldom by King Richard. Robert was wise and prudent; he suffered heavy losses in the cause of Richard. He was faithful to King John, who through the Earl granted many

privileges to the burgesses of Leicester. The Earl, on his own part, also made many grants to the town ; and the inhabitants were encouraged to enroll themselves in companies and guilds for the safety of their persons and the protection of their property ; and when the serious troubles of John's reign became tumultuous and cruel, the Barons of England *assembled first at Leicester Castle* to take counsel for the Commonwealth.

Robert Fitz-Parnell died 1204 without issue, when the Earldom lapsed to the Crown. Amicia, sister and co-heir of Robert, married Simon de Montfort, Count of Evreux, and her second son, also called Simon, succeeded to the title and to half the possessions of the Earldom. He was therefore the fifth Earl, and as such was confirmed by King John, 1207. This Simon married Alice, daughter of Bouchard V, Sire de Montmorency, in 1190, and died 1221 ; his funeral being magnificently celebrated at Carcassonne. His youngest son succeeded in England, and was known as the Great Earl, Simon de Montfort. On February 2nd, 1230, he was confirmed as sixth Earl of Leicester and Steward of England ; and in 1232 all the lands his father held under the King were confirmed to him by Henry III. On January 7th, 1239, Simon married, at Westminster, in the King's private chapel, the Lady Eleanor Plantagenet, second daughter of King John, by Isabella, daughter and heir of Aimar, Count of Angoulême ; by this marriage he became brother to the King of England, the Emperor of Germany, and the King of Scotland. Simon incurred the royal displeasure in 1239, when he retired to France. After engaging in a crusade, and other adventures, he returned to England in 1255, and soon afterwards accepted from the rebellious Barons the appointment of General-in-Chief in the revolution of 1258 : he was in command at the battle of Lewes, May 14th, 1264, and took the King, with Edward, his eldest son, captive. While the King was in prison, Simon summoned a Parliament to Westminster in the King's name ; and on December 24th, 1264, he issued writs to the sheriffs throughout England, commanding them to return two knights each for every shire, and two burgesses for every borough, within the realm. To Simon, there-

fore, whatever his motives, the English constitution is indebted for the beginnings of our National Parliament. Simon used the power which success conferred on him to gratify his avarice and ambition ; he seized the estates of eighteen Barons of the opposite party, and appropriated to himself the greater part of the ransom of the prisoners.

The new government did not last long. Prince Edward escaped from prison ; Gilbert de Clare, seventh Earl of Gloucester, then reared the royal standard and joined forces with the Prince : marching to Kenilworth, they surprised young Montfort, the Earl's son, making him and thirteen of his chief adherents prisoners. Elated with this triumph, they, on August 4th, 1265, marched to Evesham, where the Earl of Leicester and his great force rested, waiting the arrival of his son, whose banner the royal army, as a stratagem of war, alone displayed, and thereby completely deceived Simon : who, undismayed, drew out his army in order of battle, and fighting gallantly to the last, he and his son fell with about one hundred and sixty noble knights, the royal army being completely victorious.

BATTLE OF BOSWORTH FIELD.

King Richard III, August 19th, 1484, rode into Leicester from Nottingham, with 15,000 followers, having heard that the Earl of Richmond had reached Lichfield on his way from Wales to London.

King Richard slept at the "Blue Boar," Leicester, on a bedstead he carried with him, in which was discovered, a century afterwards, £300—a very large sum in those days—concealed in a false bottom. Two days later, he marched out of Leicester with his army to Market Bosworth, to meet his foe, who was approaching with 6,000 men.

The armies met on Redmore Plains, one mile south of the town, where the issue was decided by the desertion of Lord William Stanley, with 3,000 followers, to Henry Tudor. William Stanley was second son to Thomas, first Lord Stanley ; he had been made Chamberlain of Cheshire in 1461 by Edward IV, and in 1483 he was

appointed by Richard III Judge of North Wales ; but family alliance overbore every other feeling ; and Stanley in person, with his cavalry, rescued Richmond, when he was actually within reach of his enemy's sword : after Richard had slain Sir Charles Brandon, the Earl's standard-bearer, and overthrown Sir John Cheney in single combat ; he next urged his charger into the midst of the fight, but Stanley's cavalry surrounded him. Richard was overpowered, covered with wounds, yet fighting, fell. His body was thrown across a sorry jade, and ignominiously carried to Leicester, where it was buried with scant ceremony in the churchyard of the Grey Friars.

Stanley obtained for himself all the treasure which King Richard had brought to Bosworth, and presuming upon his opulence and deserts, he solicited from Henry Tudor the Earldom of Chester. The disgust which the demand, and the consequent refusal, inspired was mutual. Stanley was, in 1494, accused of treason, and imprisoned in the Tower. According to the best authorities the charge of treason was groundless ; but Stanley was rich and very powerful, and perhaps greed inclined the covetous King to confiscate his great possessions at Holt and Ridley. After his execution, June 25th, 1495, there were found in his castle of Holt more than 40,000 marks, and his lands and fees amounted to 3,000 pounds a year, all which passed to King Henry VII.

Lord William Stanley's brother Thomas, first Earl of Derby (of that line), had married for his second wife the Lady Margaret Tudor, daughter and sole heir of John, Duke of Beaufort ; she was mother, by a former husband, of Henry, Earl of Richmond, the rival and successor of Richard III. Thomas, Earl of Derby, was one of the boldest and most active commanders at Bosworth ; and when victory at length declared for Lancaster, Earl Thomas had the honour of crowning, on the field of battle, his own wife's son, whom he proclaimed as " Henry VII, King of England."

After the battle, and Tudor's thanks to Heaven, the victors entered Leicester in triumph. King Henry erected a tomb of variegated marble over Richard's grave ; and when the Friary fell into decay, the tomb was hidden by

briars and thorns. On being discovered it was rifled for its stone coffin, which long afterwards served as a drinking-trough for the "White Horse" Inn, Gallowtree Gate; but in the time of King George I was used in making steps to a cellar. The "Blue Boar" was long regarded with interest for its historical associations, and the camp bedstead, supposed to have been King Richard's, used as a treasure-chest. The innkeeper who found the £300, said to have belonged to the same king, became in time Mayor of Leicester. In 1830, the record says: "About half a century since, the bed was purchased by a broker in Leicester, who slept in it many years, and showed it to the curious, little changed since King Richard's time: it being strong oak, having a high polish. The daughter of the broker having married one Babington, of Rothley, near Leicester, it was removed to Babington's house, where it is still preserved" (*Bygone Leicestershire*, 1892, p. 61, by William Andrews, and printed by J. and T. Spencer).

CARDINAL WOLSEY,

Born at Ipswich in 1471, by tact and great perseverance obtained an income and position in society almost equal to that of a Royal Prince. He had eight hundred followers, many of whom were knights and gentlemen, including nobles. His equipage and furniture were of the most costly kinds: not only rich silks and gold embroidery on his own garments, but his saddles and trappings were richly decorated also.

The Pope, observing his influence with Henry VIII, gave him legal pre-eminence over the Archbishop of Canterbury, and supreme authority over all Church matters in England. Wolsey built and endowed Christ Church, Oxford. He also built and furnished Hampton Court most sumptuously, and in 1528 presented it to the King, as a peace offering.

Wolsey was ordered to resign York Place (now Whitehall) with all its rich furniture and plate to the King, and on his doing so a full pardon was granted to him; but in 1530 the Earl of Northumberland was ordered to arrest the Cardinal, and conduct him to London for

trial. This was done in October, 1530, and on November 1 he set out under custody on his final journey ; but illness and mental distress compelled him to rest in Leicester, November 26, when he was honourably received in the Abbey. He said : " O Father Abbot, an old man broken with the storms of State is come to lay his bones among ye ; give him a little earth for charity ! "

His illness increased, and a few days brought him to his end in the sixtieth year of his age. Before he expired, he said to Knighton, the Constable of the Tower, " Had I but served God as diligently as I have served the King, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs. "

Wolsey died November 28, 1530, and was buried in the Lady Chapel of Leicester Abbey.

A few words may be said about BRADGATE, the birth-place and scene of the happy childhood of Lady Jane Grey, the innocent victim of unscrupulous ambition. The Park is 6 miles in circumference, and well stocked with deer. Fuller, in *Leicestershire Worthies*, says Jane had " the innocency of childhood, the beauty of youth, the solidity of middle and the gravity of old age, and all at eighteen. The birth of a Princess, the learning of a clerk, the life of a saint, and the death of a malefactor, for her parents' offences. "

Jane was the eldest daughter of Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, Lord Lieutenant of Leicester and Rutland, by Frances, daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, through his marriage with Mary Tudor, sister of Henry VIII. In this King's will (1544), he left the crown to Jane, on failure of his posterity.

King Edward VI wished to marry his cousin Jane, but his pulmonary consumption rendered that impossible.

By letters patent, June 21, 1553 (within a month of his decease), he granted the crown of England to Jane and her heirs male, by the consent of all his councillors of State, consisting of nineteen lords and five judges, to which the King and every one of them subscribed their names, and were sworn to observe.

On July 6, 1553, the King died, having by his will given

his palace of Bridewell to be a hospital for the poor. He also gave Christ Church, then called Grey Friars, and also St. Thomas's Hospital for the sick and needy. The same day, Jane was publicly proclaimed Queen of England. A large majority of the aristocracy gladly accepted her, but the overwhelming power of the people would not change the family succession.

Jane reigned as Queen but nine days, and then her title vanished in favour of Henry's daughter Mary.

To-morrow, by invitation of the Duke of Rutland, we are to visit Belvoir. "This has been a noble's house of the first rank ever since the time of the Conqueror." The late Sir Bernard Burke said "This remark does not apply to any other house in the kingdom;" and no more magnificent situation could be found for a feudal fortress than the beacon hill on which the Castle stands.

When *Domesday Book* was written, in 1086, Belvoir Castle, with a vast estate all round it, was the possession of Robert de Toden, the valiant standard-bearer of Normandy, who held the like martial office at the battle of Hastings, for which he was nobly rewarded with four-score important English lordships. Toden was a direct male descendant from Malahule, uncle of Rollo, the first Duke of Normandy.

The Norman earls and knights who first settled in England, though very powerful, had many difficulties to contend with. They were hated by the English to the third generation, and it was not safe during that period to go about without a strong military escort; their dwellings also needed to be carefully guarded, no Norman being safe from ambuscade, and their families needed constant protection.

It is said that no Norman family retained possession of any lordship for three generations, unless one of their chiefs married an English wife.

Robert de Toden married Adela, daughter of Osulf fil. Franc, who was lord of Belvoir in the time of Edward the Confessor.

Belvoir passed from Toden to the Albinis; and in 1244 Isabel, daughter and sole heir of William d'Albin,

married Robert de Roos, lord of Hamlake and Trusbut, likewise of Belvoir in right of his wife. This great heiress was in ward to Henry III, and the king exacted a fine of £3,285 13s. 4d., and a palfrey, upon her marriage with de Roos. This Robert's grandfather, in 1227, took the cowl, and lies buried in the Temple Church, London, on the floor of which "lie the sculptured effigies of men who belonged to the period of Old England;" and these, as being undoubted originals, are amongst the most interesting pieces of sculpture we possess.

Nine of these Templar effigies remain, each in his habit as he lived; and conspicuous among others, de Roos, one of the Barons to whom the bloodless field of Runnymede has given undying reputation. The exquisitely beautiful effigy, with head uncovered, and the curling locks flowing about it, represents that nobleman with his arms emblazoned on the shield. No other effigy surpasses this in simple dignity.

Even now, after a lapse of eight hundred years, the Vale of Belvoir remains the patrimony of the Lords of Belvoir; and the present representative of Robert de Toden, from the same lofty eyrie, looks down on the same bounteous inheritance.





EARLY DEFENSIVE EARTHWORKS.¹

BY I. CHALKLEY GOULD, ESQ.



My Paper contains little that is fresh to archæologists, and will be somewhat dry to those who are not enthusiasts in this branch of archæology, I must crave your indulgence, and explain that my reason for producing it is, that I desire at every available opportunity to draw attention to the importance of the study of ancient defensive earthworks. Perhaps there is less need for apology now, as the subject has of late occupied the attention of some eminent scholars, to whose opinions reference will be made in an appendix to this Paper. There is another and a sadder excuse for my subject—I refer to the melancholy fact that so little are these priceless memorials valued, that year by year some are mutilated or destroyed—the builder, the quarryman, the farmer, have all to answer for the process of destruction which, alas! there is no law to prevent.

Here it may be well to state that this Paper is written, not to promulgate theories as to date or origin of any particular form of earthwork forts, but as an effort towards increasing the public interest in the remains, with the hope that increased interest may peradventure lessen the likelihood of wanton destruction.

Appreciating their importance, one wishes that it were possible to organise a society or committee to survey and publish plans of all the earthwork fortresses throughout the kingdom; but as this is not possible, my present object is to urge local archæological societies to take the matter up at once, while there is yet time.

¹ Being the substance of two Papers, the one read at Buxton in July 1899, the other at Leicester, in August 1900.

If the various archæological societies will publish plans of the defensive earthworks within their respective spheres, a great work will have been accomplished ; and I venture to think that if the pages are published separately, as well as in "Transactions," many will be sold to the public to whom the "Transactions" are inaccessible. In addition to the plans there should be sections of the banks, ditches and mounds, and if possible a rough diagram of the general appearance. There should, too, be a short note of any relics known to have been unearthed in every case in which excavations have been made.¹

I plead that plans to a uniform scale be adopted, also for uniformity in the method of indicating banks, ditches and mounds. I would suggest in each case that one plan on the 25-in. scale should be prepared, and if necessary, enlarged plans of any special features on any scale which may be preferred, provided that it be indicated on the plate.²

The provision of accurate sections requires skill, but fortunately our societies always include among their members some surveyors, engineers, or architects who, with kindly generosity, are willing to give their services in the cause of science.

There is another body of men who could render good service towards popularising our subject ; I refer to the curators of our public museums, who might easily enlarge small plans provided by the Archæological Societies or printed in the 25-in. Ordnance Survey, and exhibit large-scale plans such as those I show to-night, which are all on the scale of 100 ins. to the mile. Museum authorities would, no doubt, be able to provide more finished plans and diagrams than these, which are the hasty results of hurried visits : but even these would be of some interest on the walls of museums. I hope the day will come when no museum curator will

¹ Such information will be helpful to the admirable work which is being done by the Society of Antiquaries in their County Surveys.

² The 25-in. O. S. plans are generally accurate so far as they show the work, but do not, in most cases, give all the detail. This must be added on the spot.

be satisfied to be without a complete series, covering all the forts in the neighbourhood or county.

Some sort of classification of forts will be necessary if publication is attempted, and I advise dividing them into classes, roughly chronological, perhaps; but it must be remembered that some of the earliest types of works were repeated in after-days, and that it is therefore, in the absence of the invaluable aid of spade labour, impossible of some forts to judge the age by the form of earthwork. Perhaps I ought to remind you that, though we speak of earthwork forts, walls of masonry aided the defence of some, while others were defended by stockades of timber, or palisading of uprights with willow wattle-work between, making an effective defence when placed on the high ramparts of earth.

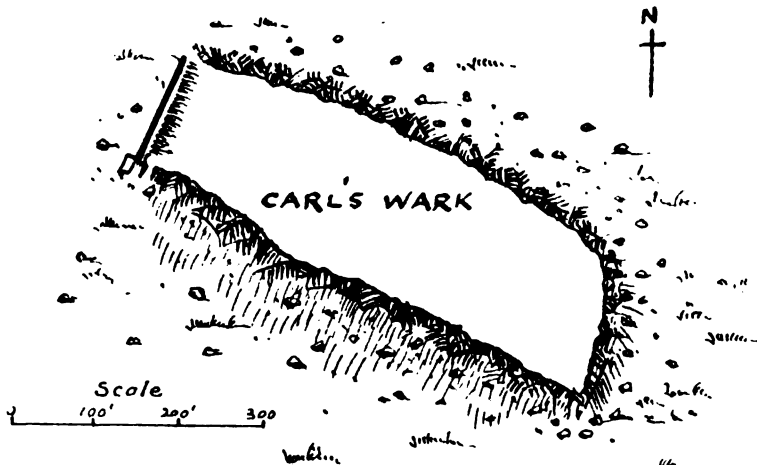
If time allowed, it would be interesting to show that the work of two or three thousand years ago in Britain is paralleled in the *Pa* of New Zealand, which dropped out of use only some seventy years since; and that some of our earliest works have their counterparts in modern forts built to resist nineteenth-century artillery.

(1) Probably the earliest traces of man's defensive handiwork are those roughly-defined, small-banked, or low-walled enclosures of rocky or mountain districts. Witter, on Dartmoor, has yielded ample evidence of Neolithic origin, but it is nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres in extent, and had originally two stone walls around it. Long before man had developed sufficiently to make that, he had defence of some sort apart from cave or water protection. I think his earlier work is to be found in many a half natural, half artificial, and wholly mysterious little enclosure, such as puzzles us on the hills of Wales or the fells of Yorkshire, and other high regions. In more civilized districts one comes across nearly obliterated scraps of banks on hilly ground, meaningless, and unnoticed in any maps; some doubtless the result of nature's "terracing," but many possibly the remains of little banked shelters of Neolithic men. Should a book be published, such early enclosures might figure first; but we have now to deal with works created when man had developed into civilisation enough to group himself with

other families on tribal or other systems sufficiently, by united labour, to make larger and more effective works of defence.

(2) The long vista of past ages shows us among man's early works some of the grandest and most impressive. Those who have gazed upon the mighty earthworks crowning the summit of some lofty hill—difficult of access by nature, rendered more so by art—must have experienced a feeling akin to awe, as well as a longing to, for a moment, re-people the fortress with its creators.

The spade has found us the record of Neolithic man



The solid lines on the west indicate walls of dry-built stones. The surface of the fort is strewn with boulders.

in some works, in others we have relics of bronze and iron, but the over-lapping of various types of finds and forms of construction renders it impossible to establish a chronological table; nevertheless, I propose to speak now of that type in which early man selected an eminence naturally defended on each side but one by precipices, steep slopes, or water. Across that one weak side he threw a wall of stone, or rampart of earth, usually with a fosse outside.

Derbyshire provides us with a remarkable example of one form of this class in Carl's Wark, a rocky summit on an outcrop of millstone grit. Some idea of its weird,



CARL'S WARK FROM THE MOOR PATH.

dark, almost uncanny aspect, may be formed from the illustration, reproduced by permission of Mr. S. O. Addy.¹

The forces of Nature have dealt terribly with this moorland fortress: hundreds of great stones, once component parts of the wall, lie scattered upon the slopes below; but on the northern side the huge natural wall is practically perfect, towering perpendicularly, high above the surrounding moor. The rock-strewn surface of the fort is nearly level with the top of these walls, excepting on the narrow western side, where we find that the builders cast up a rampart of earth, facing it outside with a wall of stones. This remarkable dry-built wall remains tolerably perfect on this, the one weak side of the fort, which is further protected by scarping the western slope.



Section of western wall

Along the base of this scarping the way of access wound up to a path, still hedged in by walls of masonry, passing at the south-west angle into the fort. Huge stones were added to the natural wall on the southern side where necessary, some being from 6 ft. to 9 ft. in length, and the southern and eastern sides have been strengthened by earth thrown up outside; but, in the main, Carl's Wark may be said to have had much natural defence save on the western side, where we find the before-mentioned rampart and wall, of which the above section is given in Mr. S. O. Addy's book, wherein he says, referring to this masonry:—

"The average length of each stone is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft., its depth, or thickness, 1 ft., and its width, 3 ft., that being the width of the wall, which consists of one course of stones only. These stones also, like the stones in the southern wall, are fitted together without mortar, and without smaller stones to fill up the interstices."

¹ From the "Hall of Waltheof," by S. O. Addy, M.A., 1893.

Comb Moss, near Dove Holes, in Derbyshire, affords an example of a fortress protected by its position on a high hill, with precipitous rocky sides, save towards the east. The surface is much strewn with boulders, but now affords pasturage for sheep. There are slight hollows or depressions, which may indicate the site of huts.

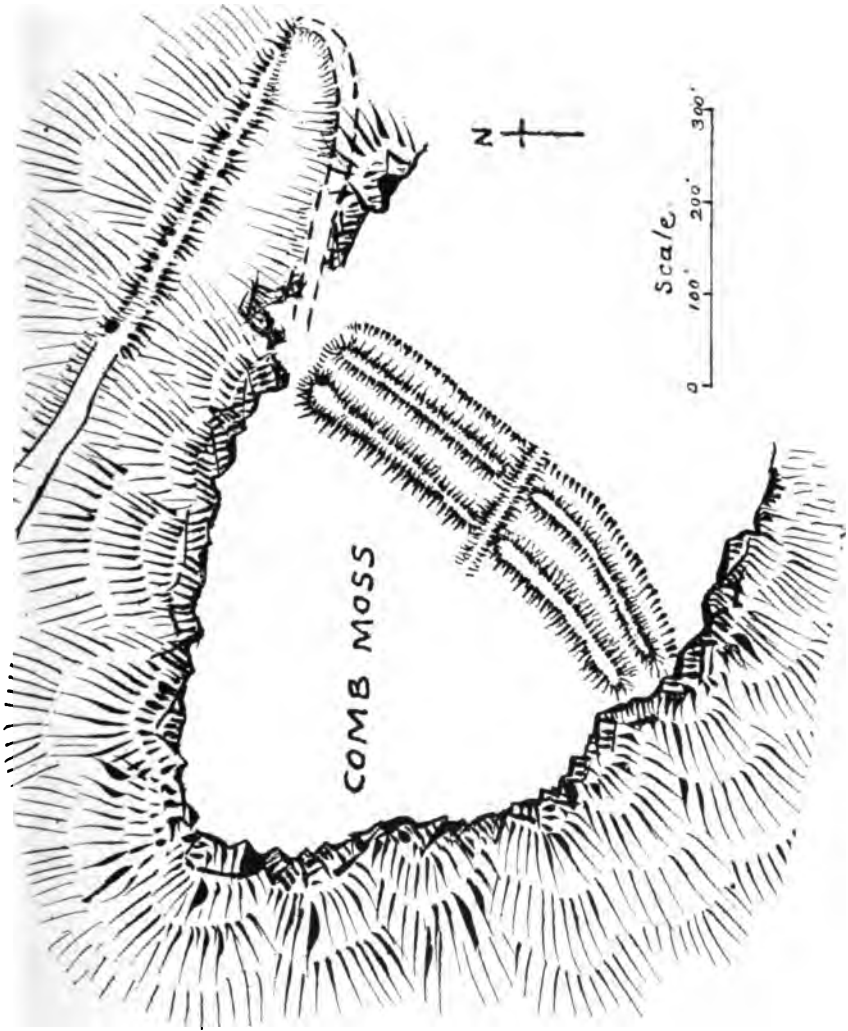
The plan shows the double vallum cut through by a straight pass; but that pass was no part of the work of the original occupiers, their entrance being by a dangerous, precipitous way at the north-east corner.

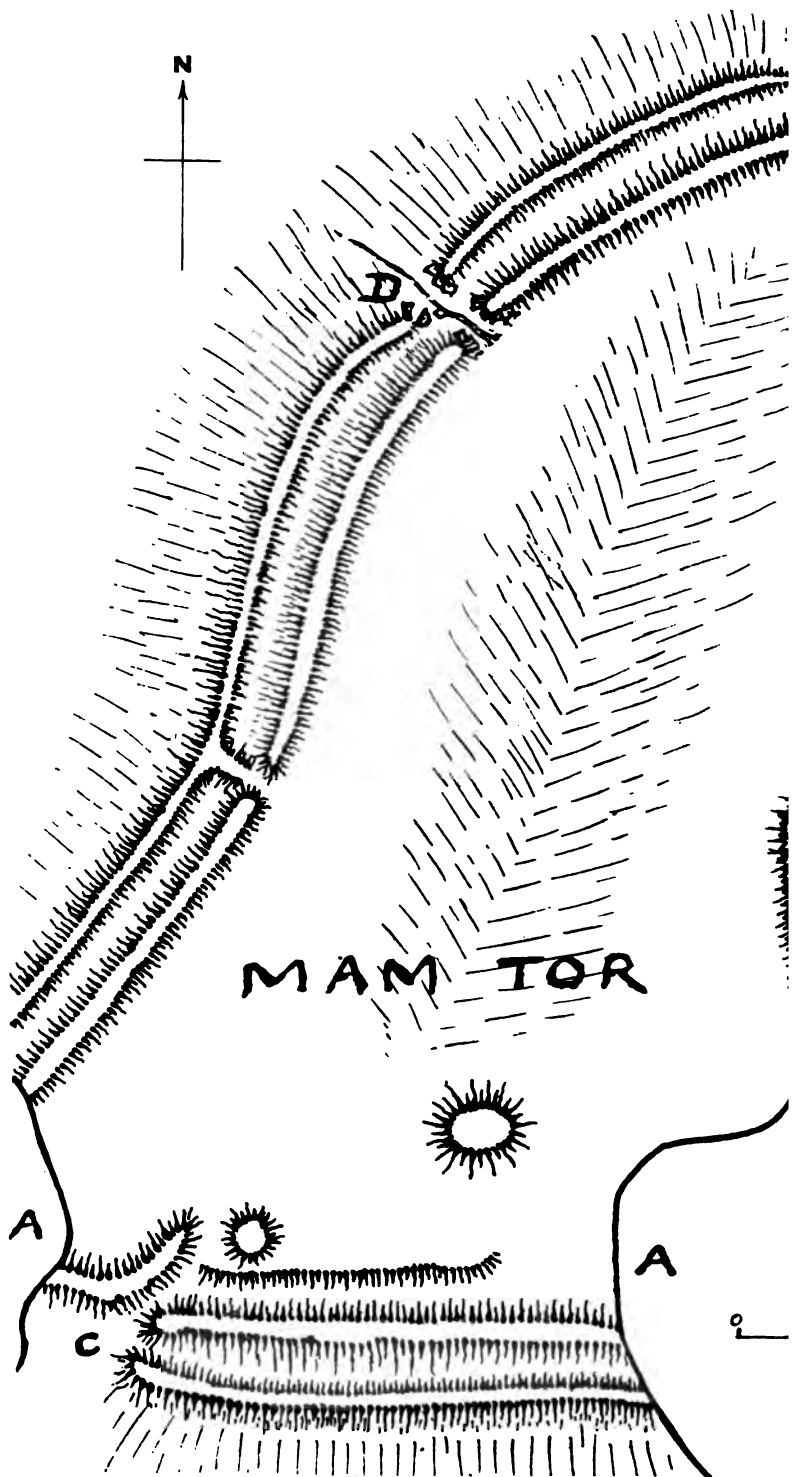
The addition of straight-cut entrances to old camps was frequently the work of Romans, who temporarily or otherwise occupied an ancient site. A path which leads up to the north-west point is probably modern, and omitted from plan.

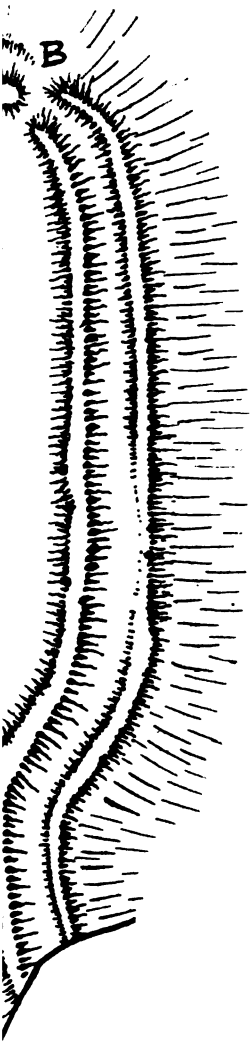
(3) The next type is generally found in the form of earthworks surrounding the summit of a hill, dykes and ramparts enclosing the space occupied by the fort. The leading characteristic features of these works are twofold: first, they follow the natural outline of the hill; next, the entrances were rendered tortuous by involved passages along the fosse, or by outer earthworks barring and complicating the approach. Illustrations of entrance-ways at Maiden Castle, Dorset, may here be of interest.

It is evident to everyone who has studied these works that their makers could have been no mere savages, but men with intelligence enough to scheme their fortresses to the greatest advantage. Caesar's words would lead us to suppose that the Britons depended on forests for their defence; but Caesar's visits here in B.C. 55 and 54 were very short in time and range. Let me quote the words of General Pitt-Rivers, in his paper on Mount Caburn, by Lewes, in Sussex:—

“The skill displayed in the selection of their sites negatives the supposition that they could have habitually been situate in the midst of woods. We find they are for the most part erected on the summits of hills, which, from the nature of the soil, could never have been thickly wooded. The careful manner in which their ramparts are invariably traced so as to command the slopes proves that these slopes could never have been covered with wood, otherwise the advantage of the arrangement would have been nullified” (*Archæologia*, vol. xlv).





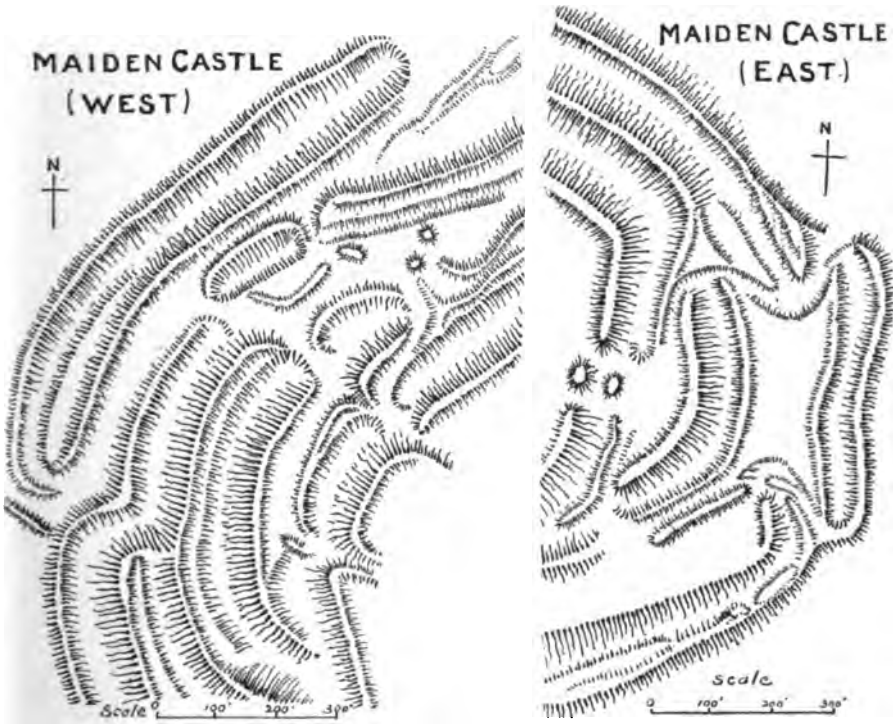


**"MAM-TOR," OR THE "SHIVERING
MOUNTAIN," NEAR CASTLETON.**

- A.** Hill-sides broken away, forming precipices.
- B.** Probably modern entrance.
- C.** Original entrance.
- D.** At about this point the banks are broken through by water action.

Scale
100' 200' 300'

Belonging to this early period is that wonderfully-situated earthwork known as "Mam Tor," or the "shivering mountain," near Castleton. No words that the most fluent of speakers could use would do more than justice to the beauty of the scene from the commanding height of this great hill, with its prospect into the charming Derbyshire dales, and far over Peakland. At about 1,700 ft. above the sea level, 1,200 yards of double



rampart defended the ridged summit, which nature itself rendered almost inaccessible save on the north, where it links on to the ridge of Lose Hill. Not content with double ramparts on the south, we find the makers threw up a third bank, and it is on that side that the original entrance appears; a low sunken way, beginning far in the valley below, climbs its way to the south-west corner of the precipitous height, where a great massive bank commands the entrance. A tumulus is here too, but

whether it formed any part of their scheme, or whether it is older than the banks, it is singularly well placed to aid in fighting the foe at the gate.¹

The Leicestershire hills, though not aspiring to such elevation as those of Derbyshire, afford one fine example of this type of fort. Anyone who takes the trouble to visit Burrow Hill, only a few miles from Leicester, will be well rewarded. The rampart is thrown up at the top of the steep hill-side on the south and west. On part of the north (with exception of a small length of precipice where is now no rampart) there is not so much natural slope, and consequently a higher bank is needed, which on the east increases, as the plan shows, to a 20 ft. high vallum on that side which is unprotected by nature. I am much inclined to think that, though the fort is of that far-away prehistoric period which, for want of more definite knowledge, we call Celtic, the entrance cut through the east rampart, and protected by banks on the inner side, is of Roman,² or even later date.

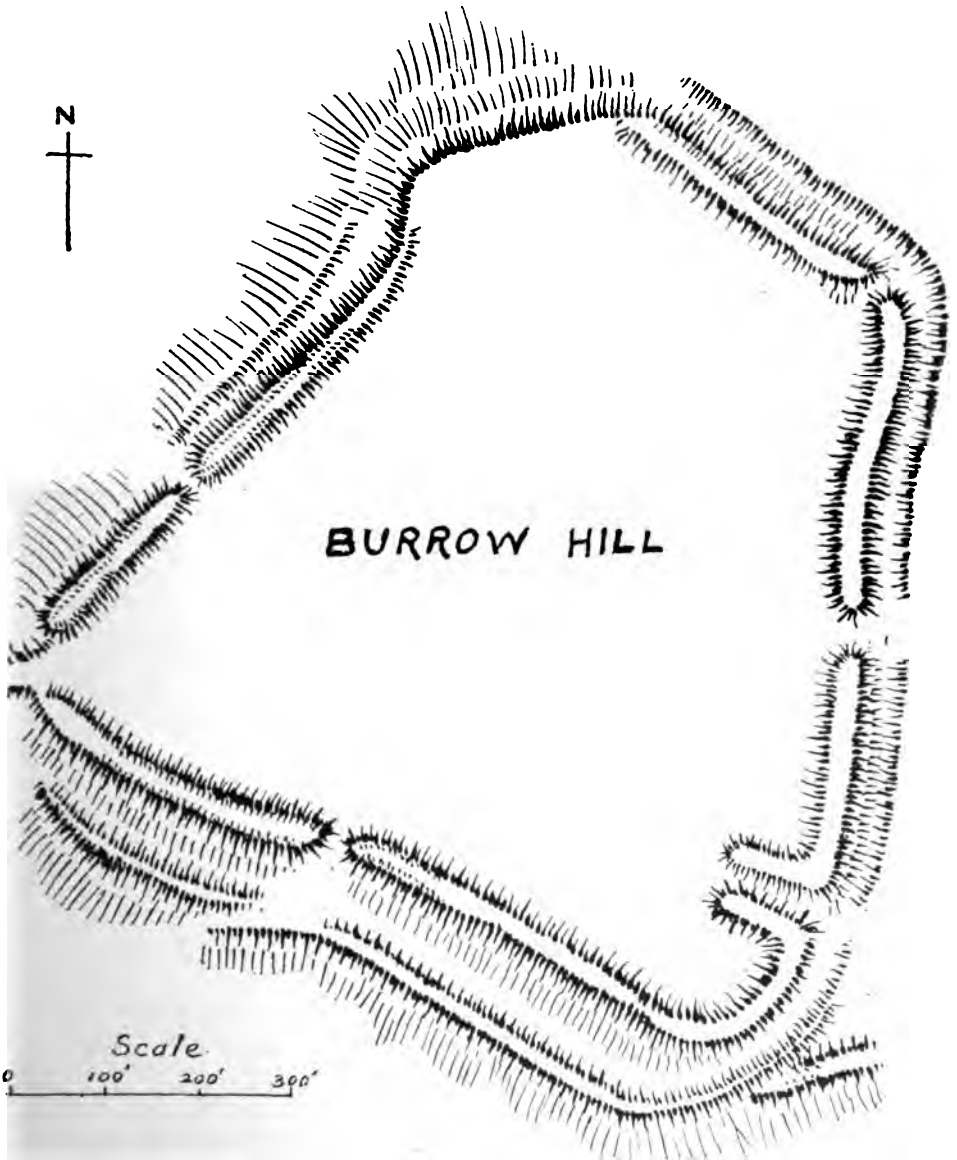
The original entrance seems to me to have been on the south, the way to it climbing up the steep hill-side, subject to the missiles of the defenders from an outwork.

It is much to be regretted that time and men have worked together to destroy the fosse, or moat, which anciently surrounded the ramparts; in most parts there is now a terrace, which would aid rather than hinder the assailants, but it is easy to see traces of a bank on portions of the counterscarp of the moat. This has fallen in, and, together with washings from the rampart, has destroyed the moat, thus forming the terrace. On the east side, where doubtless the fosse was deepest, earth seems to have been thrown in for the purpose of pasturage.

It has been said that these great works were the homes of the tribal Britons, but there can be little doubt that

¹ Bateman's *Vestiges of Antiquities* states that one of the two tumuli here yielded a bronze celt and an unbaked urn.

² At Puits, near Dieppe, the large Gaulish oppidum presents the same feature; the rampart on the only level side being cut through, its material forming two banks projecting inwards. The continued occupation of this work (known as the Cité de Limes and as the Camp de César) by the Romans has been amply proved.



the tribes lived and toiled in the fruitful vales, and used these hill-forts in time of war as defensive refuges. That there were exceptions we know, as remains of hut residences have been found in some camps; but they are so few in proportion to the area, and occur so seldom, that they hardly affect the statement that, as a rule, they were unused save in times of peril. The circuitous involved entrances and the situation—sometimes 1,000 ft. to 1,500 ft. above the vales—forbid the idea of constant occupation: to say nothing of the frequent absence of water supply from these hill-forts. Whether they lived on such heights or not, early men loved to bury their dead at the highest points, as many a lonely tumulus tells us, recalling the words of Swinburne:—

“And there they laid their dead to sleep
Royally, lying where wild winds keep
Keen watch, and wail more soft and deep
Than where men's choirs bid music weep.”

Should a complete summary of the varieties of form of prehistoric fortresses be attempted, far more would have to be said than your patience would endure on this occasion; therefore, attention is mainly limited to local examples.

There are remarkable works in Scotland and Ireland which should be described; Wales shows some singular defenced positions, and in Cornwall is a series of circular fortresses of great interest; while Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire contain some of the most striking examples of early work in England.

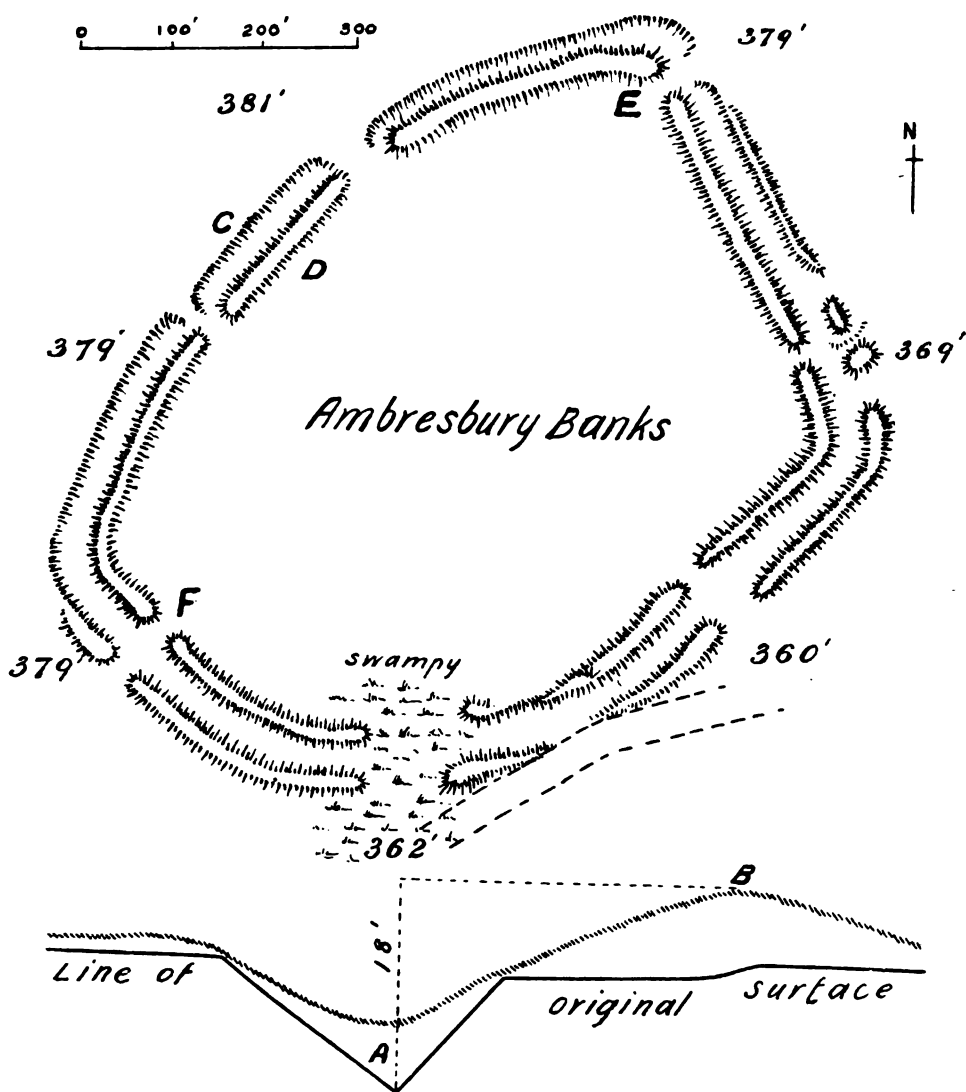
(4) Similar in general appearance to the forts last mentioned are numerous works to which it is, as a rule, safe to assign a later date. They are not on hills of great height, and differ from the earlier constructions in not following to so marked an extent the lines of the hills, and not depending on tortuous or strongly-defended entrances, while frequently the ramparts turn at an abrupt angle. These forts appear to be the work of men who had learned more of the art of war, and required, not camps of refuge, or forts for defence alone, but also places in which a body of fighting men could

be garrisoned, and from which they could rapidly issue forth in strength to attack an opposing force.

I am inclined to think that the great oblong camp west of Ratby, though of appearance suggestive of Roman work, belongs to this period. The entrances there are not placed according to the custom of the Romans; but I can obtain no information as to any "finds" which would help to determine the point, so prefer to give an example from Essex.

Ambresbury, near Epping, has, fortunately, been examined under favourable auspices. The protection of its gateways seems to have been slight; there is at least one angle of Roman appearance, and much of the enclosure is on a dead level with the surrounding land. A trench was cut through the west rampart by the Essex Field Club in 1881, under the guiding advice of General Pitt-Rivers, who came to the conclusion that the fort was of British construction about the time of the Roman invasion, but whether before or immediately after that event, the pottery and other evidence was insufficient to determine. It will be noticed that the fosse is cut down to a point, a somewhat unusual feature in British camps.

(5) Before parting from Celtic works, a word must be said as to a peculiarity in the plan of a few forts which needs investigation, one which I would specially commend to the attention of local societies. I refer to the bank, or bank and fosse, drawn across some forts dividing the enclosure into two parts, one smaller than the other. A conspicuous example is seen within Maiden Castle, near Dorchester; it has been thought that this bank indicates the existence of an earlier small camp, subsequently enlarged by extension westwards to its present enormous dimensions. Such may be the case; or, on the other hand, as I am inclined to think, the bank may have served a definite purpose, forming the eastern end of the enclosure into an embryo keep or upper ward. Another interesting example is in Caynham camp, which occupies a commanding position near Titterstone Clee. The bank here is thought by some to indicate an extension of the fortress to the west by Roman occupiers;

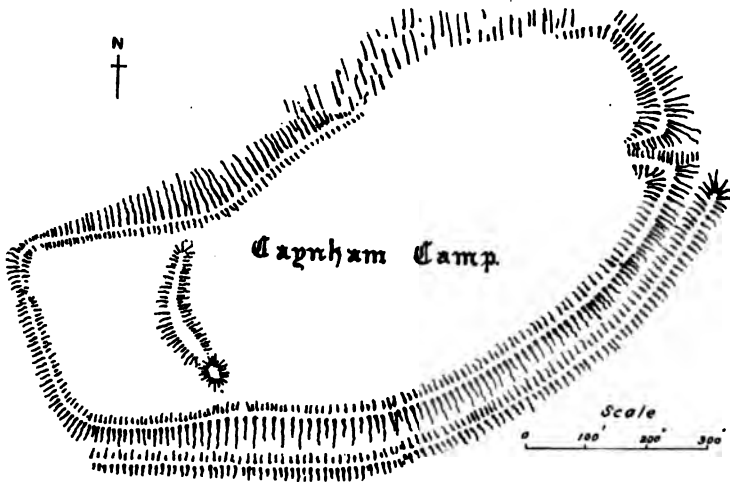


- A. 7 ft. of silt had accumulated here since fosse was cut.
 B. Present summit of rampart, originally higher. The shaded line indicates present surface.
 C, D. Position at which the trench was cut for examination by the Essex Field Club.
 E, F. Banks cut in the sixteenth century to form a roadway. The figures indicate feet above sea level.

The section is copied from Essex Field Club *Transactions*, 1881.

it may, however, be part of the Celtic plan.¹ The cross-bank being found in forts of the early or "refuge" class, this type ought perhaps to have been mentioned before that to which reference was last made; but if the bank was an addition, altering the plans at a later Celtic period, it falls into place here.²

(6) The mighty power of Rome, brought here with the Claudian invasion, A.D. 43, caused the erection of a very different class of fortress. Though occasionally occupied by them in some parts, we do not find the Romans

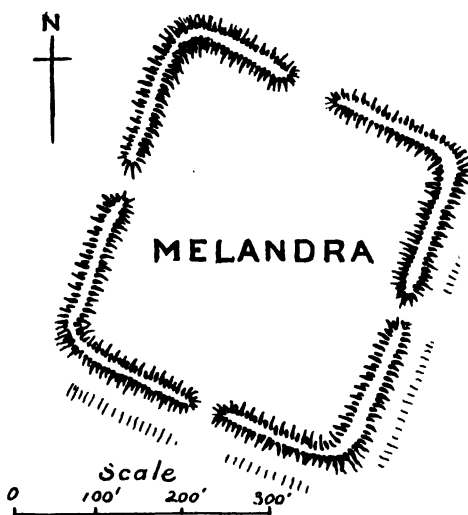


erecting great earthworks on the hill-tops; but we have, instead of the defensive works of the Britons, those distinctly offensive rectangular castles or camps, placed where the garrisons could rapidly issue out to guard the road, or protect the line of march. No tortuous entrances, but a clear space all round, and frequently four gateways, one through each rampart—the ramparts being less high and ditches shallower, or altogether absent.

¹ See *Arch. Camb.*, 5th Ser., xvi, p. 216.

² In an interesting communication to *Notes and Queries* in April, 1900, Mr. J. A. Rutter mentions this feature, and seems inclined to associate it with forts of a later type, to which reference will presently be made.

In Derbyshire we find a small but good example of the work of Roman hands—Melandra Castle, near Glossop. The work stands on rising ground, near the junction of two streams; on the west, and partly on the north, the declivity of the hill afforded protection to the rampart, but without the other portion of it there appear traces of a moat. Worked stones lie about which have formed part of the strengthened entrance-ways, and of buildings within the enclosure. The Rev. John Watson found masonry, and traced the *Pretorium*,



describing his explorations in *Archæologia*, vol. iii, (1772). The camp measures 366 ft. by 336 ft., and is near the road said to have led from Mancunium (Manchester) to Ad Petuarium (Brough).

The material used for Roman fortification was mostly that provided by nature on the spot; sometimes this was so perishable that not a vestige remains, though the enclosure may not have been specially subjected to the destructive influence of subsequent civilisation. For example, but few "camps" in the eastern counties can claim pure Roman lineage: a fact to be accounted for from the great extent of woodland no doubt providing the Romans with timber for defences—and unburied timber,

as we know, is easily destroyed. This, too, may account for the difficulty in fixing on the site of so many of the places mentioned in the *Antonine Itinerary*.

Melandra, in common with many Roman forts, now presents to the eye nothing more than an earthen rampart of no great height, surrounding an enclosure. In many cases the defences consisted of such earthen walls and their topping of timber palisading (the gateways always having special protection of masonry or timber); but the promised excavation of Melandra will probably reveal the presence of stonework in parts of the earthen vallum, as Glossop is near to abundance of suitable material.

At Cardiff, the fortress wall of masonry appears to have been built to stand in its own solid strength. At Colchester, where the height of the wall was great, it is for the most part backed by earth, which has been scarped away perpendicularly to make room for the erection. At Gelligaer the Roman builders used an uncommon method : constructing walls of masonry about 9 ft. apart, and filling the interval with rubble and soil from the ditch which they dug outside.¹

The more permanent Roman forts had guard-rooms appertaining to the principal gates : for example, the Balkan at Colchester, and the North Gate at Cardiff, where their remains exist. The little much-destroyed fort of Brough in this county (Derbyshire) has an interesting feature, brought to my notice by Mr. W. J. Andrew : on the summit of the bank, on the north-west side, are two hillocks, about 20 ins. high and some feet apart, just where the gateway on that side would be expected. These hillocks probably cover the stonework of the protection to the entrance, and make one long for the use of pick and shovel !

Did time permit, it would be interesting to see how carefully the sizes of forts were regulated by the numbers to occupy them, and how space was apportioned : we should have, too, to study the distinctions between *castra*

¹ I have to thank Mr. John Ward, F.S.A., of Cardiff, for sections of the work at Gelligaer.

stativa, or permanent stations, and more temporary work, *castra hiberna*, *exploratoria*, etc.

Mention has already been made of the Roman occupation of Comb. Moss, Burrow Hill, and such Celtic earthworks, where slight alterations attest the presence of the imperial soldiers; but there is another and most interesting series to which attention must be drawn. I refer to those in which we find a Roman fortress within a Celtic *oppidum*. As there is not, to my knowledge, any example in this district, I show a plan of Hod Hill, in Dorsetshire.

There we find a typical Roman work in the north-west of the huge British earthworks, and we see how the later possessors cut their characteristic straight passes through the earlier men's great banks. The Celt preferred the sort of entrance indicated near the north-east corner. One might mention further examples, as Ardoch, in Perthshire,¹ where the Romans occupied a large portion of the earlier work; or Colchester, where the colony was walled in a space of 108½ acres, over two miles from Gryme's Dyke, the west boundary of the British settlement.

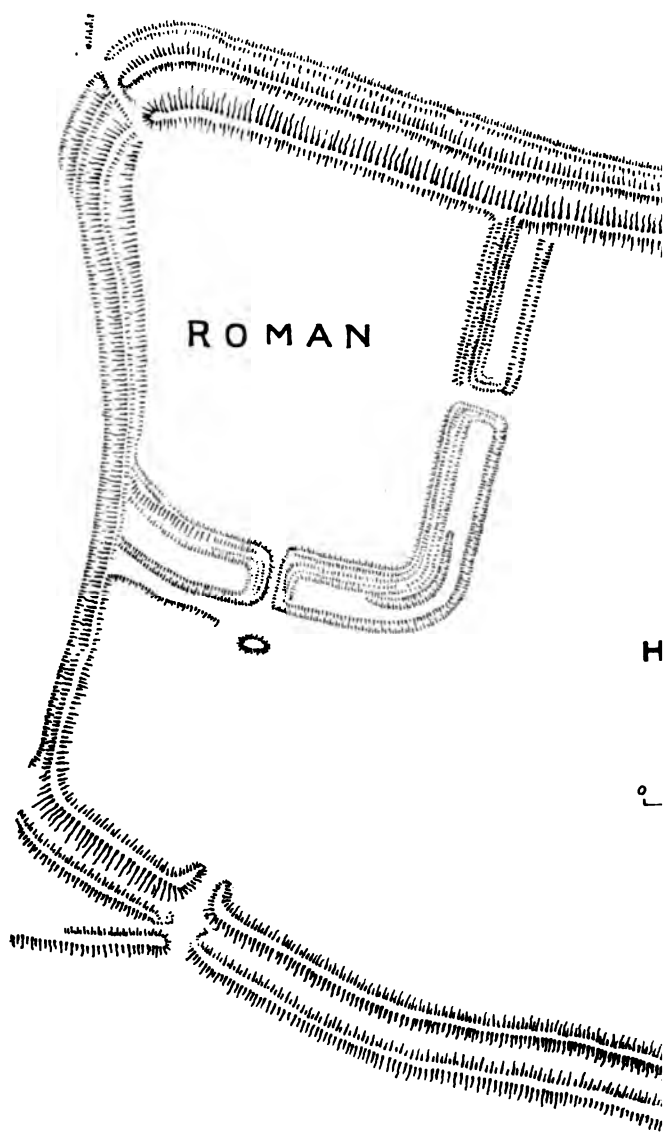
Should a list of defensive earthworks be accomplished, Roman camps will figure largely; but, alas! the report will too often be "slight remains" or "fragments;" for, situated as they generally are in the valleys, the land has been subject to agricultural or building operations far more than on the hills, and little effort has been made to preserve these priceless relics of the Roman rule.

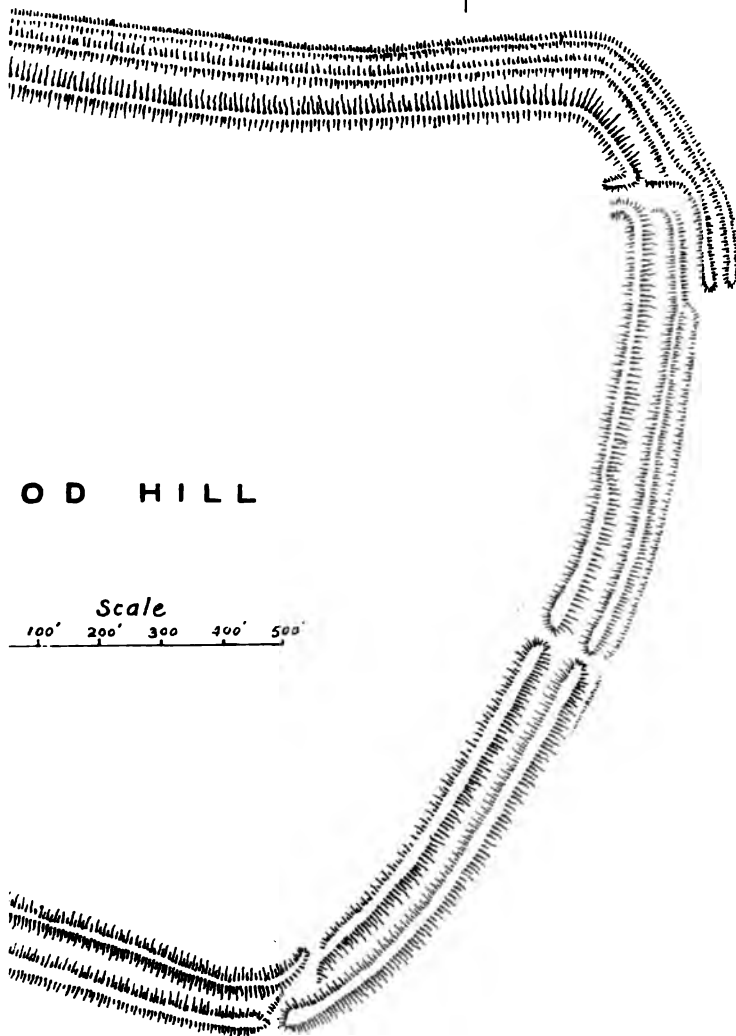
When the crumbling Roman Empire abandoned its hold on Britain early in the fifth century, a page of history began upon which we have little light beyond the glimmer shed by Gildas, and more or less fanciful writers.

The regularly-formed works at Tamworth, Wareham, and Wallingford are tentatively attributed by Clark to the Romano-British;² but we cannot say positively what

¹ See Professor McKenny Hughes, in *Archæologia*, vol. liv., p. 267.

² Mr. Clark (*Mediæval Military Architecture*, 1884) said that 'possibly Cardiff' should be added. But the large mound within





OD HILL

Scale

100' 200' 300 400' 500'

manner of earthworks were adopted by either party when the Britons found themselves harried from the north, south, or east; perhaps, with the exception of hurried works in bank and ditch, thrown up to protect their landing and advance, the earliest bands of Saxons, Jutes, or Angles have left us nothing. Coming, as those invaders did, in detached bands, owning no common king or leader, their policy did not include the making of terms, but was usually confined to fire and slaughter, and the driving of those who were unsubmitive to the wilder west or the more savage north. But when the pause in the war-rush came, and the lines of frontier had to be defended by either party, then, I think, some of the old works were utilised; and it may be that some of the so-called early earthworks were not constructed until this period. Excavation on systematic lines may throw light on this.

It is noteworthy that the *Saxon Chronicle* makes no mention of fortress-building till well in the sixth century; and then the work seems to have been of the simplest form.

"A. 547. This year Ida began to reign, from whom arose the royal race of North-humbria; and he reigned twelve years, and built Bebbanburh (Bamborough), which was at first enclosed by a hedge, and afterwards by a wall."

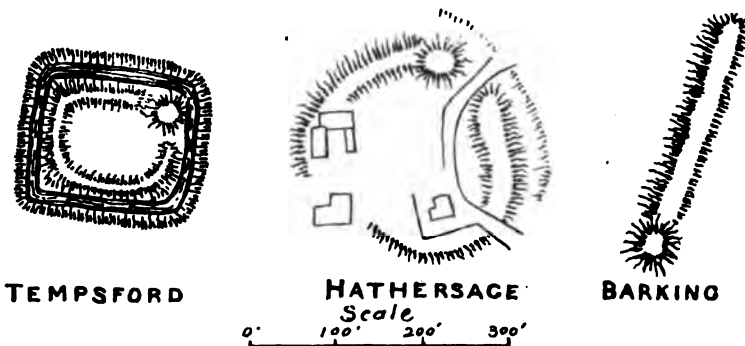
Taunton¹ is referred to A. 722 as having been razed; with this exception it is not till the time of the Danish invasions in the ninth century that we read of more fortress-building: but through that painful period we have frequent references, extending from Alfred's work at Athelney in 878 to the making of Bakewell burh in 924.

the Castle enclosure, and the high earthen banks—one scarped to allow space for the moat—thrown up over the Roman walls, appear to indicate the work of Dane or Saxon rather than Briton. One may regret that the Marquis of Bute has, at vast expense, removed the picturesque banks to make room for a pseudo-mediæval castle wall, but in so doing he has revealed the presence of a ruined Roman wall of exceeding interest.

¹ "In this year Queen Ethelburh destroyed Tantun (Taunton), which Ine had previously built."

(7) Though possibly not in sequence here, it may be well to mention a type of which there are few examples. Occasionally, an enclosure with a moat surrounding its rampart has on the latter a mound—the mound not being provided with a moat on its inner face, as is usual with our next type. One example is of great value, as we know the date of its construction. The *Saxon Chronicle* tells us that the Danish army went in 921 to Taemeseforda (Temsford), and wrought the work there.¹

There is no reference in the *Chronicle* to the fort at Barking, in Essex, known as Uphall Camp, but circum-

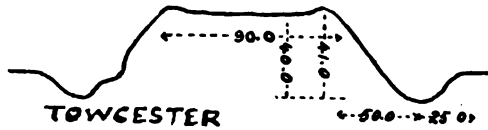


stances point to Danish origin. Very little of the camp has been spared by modern builders, but fortunately the mound is at present in good hands. The little circular fort at Hathersage is another example, of which a plan is given, showing the small mound on the rampart. This also is traditionally Danish.

(8) Scattered throughout England is a vast number of forts of a distinct type; they vary in size and detail, but in all a great mound of earth plays the leading part. Such works are also found in some valleys of Wales, in a part of Scotland, in Ireland, Normandy and Flanders. When, and by whom, were

¹ The ground near the fort is scored and scarred with traces of works, as would be expected, for the moated enclosure is but half an acre in extent, and could only have been a sort of "keep."

these mound-forts constructed? Before attempting to suggest an answer, let us see what appearance they present. Sometimes simply a mound, furnished with a deep moat, as at Towcester, of which work Clark gives



this section.¹ The flat summit of the mounds, and the top of outer protecting ramparts, where they existed, were usually protected by stockades or palisading.

The Bayeux Tapestry gives a picture of the mound fort at Dinan, which materially helps us to understand the construction of such works. Below, on the left, is



Dinan, from the Bayeux Tapestry. See Bruce (J. C.), *The Bayeux Tapestry*, 1856.

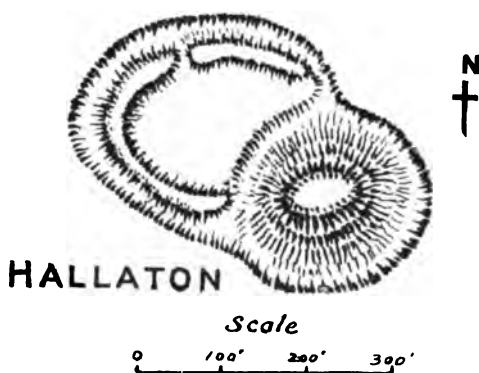
an outer gate or barbican, guarded by turrets on either side; then a ladder-like bridge over the moat, to an entrance tower or stage, no doubt protecting the main gate to the high stockaded keep. Against the inner side of the stockade-wall, a fighting platform of wood or earth must run, of sufficient elevation to enable the defenders to throw missiles over or through the roughly-indicated embrasures. Within the protected area is a hall, probably plastered, surmounted by a tiled roof,

¹ Clark, *Med. Mil. Arch.*, vol. i, p. 21 (1884).

with central smoke-vent.¹ We are thus able to understand two features which are noticeable on some mounds; the rim running round, or nearly round, the edge of the summit is the remains of a bank forming the fighting platform; and the step or projection nearer the moat level on one side is the remains of the bank supporting the main entrance tower. Both features appear in the section of Towcester.

In England, a great number of these mound-forts had attached to them a bailey, or base-court, also ramparted and moated as at Hallaton: a very interesting example, of which I have taken this plan.

The bailey was for the accommodation of the retainers,



their horses, etc. It will be noted that the mound-keep is usually not within the bailey, but on one side, forming part of the outer defence of the whole: in this respect differing from the custom of later days, when stone keeps were generally placed more within.² The mound carried the principal part or keep of the fort, and was connected with the bailey by a drawbridge. Usually we find a gap in the rampart of the bailey on the side furthest from the mound, the original sole entrance to the fortress;

¹ At Dinan, a tower on the right, corresponding to the entrance tower on left of mound, but narrower, is being used for communicating the surrender before the besiegers can succeed in their depicted attempt to fire the fort.

² A conspicuous example of the placement of a Norman stone keep, in position somewhat analogous to the mounds under consideration, is seen at the Chateau d'Arques in Normandy.

the gap is now frequently approached by a raised causeway across the moat, but this was not so originally. Hallaton is so well preserved that we see the complete surrounding moat, showing that the gap or gateway was approached by a bridge—perhaps a drawbridge, but certainly one easily removed in case of an attack. At the top of the counterscarp, or outer slope, of the surrounding moats was often a bank, which in some instances carried a palisade or stockade. This feature is lacking at Hallaton.¹

Very similar to Hallaton is the mound and court fort at Laughton-en-le-Morthen, of which this is a section. A third class of these works is that in which we see, not only the base court attached to the mound, but also a second, outer, larger court beyond. There is no good

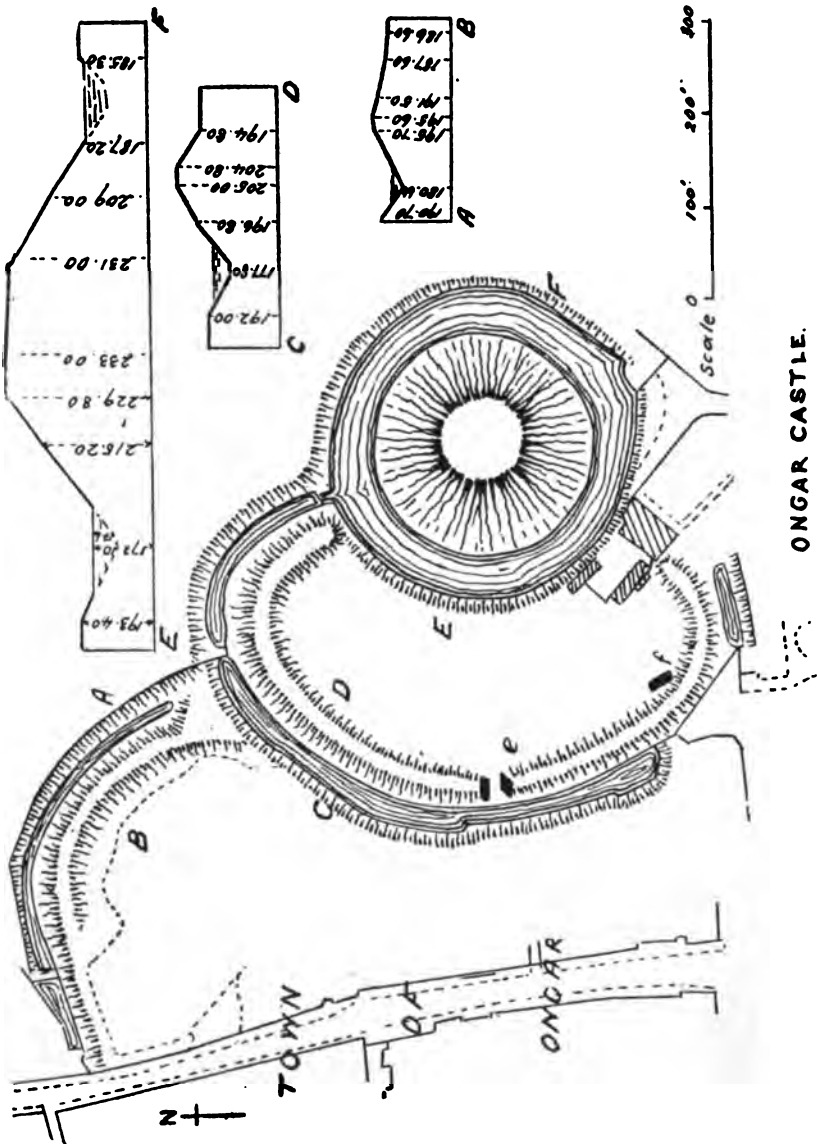


example in this neighbourhood, but Bakewell, I have no doubt, had such an appendage, though there is little left to show. Clark tells us that these outer courts were for the protection of flocks and herds in case of an attack; but I venture to think they were usually for another and more important purpose, for it was within their shelter that the infant townships grew.

The mound keep was for the lord's apartments, the inner bailey for his retainers and stables, and perhaps part of his own residential quarters; but the outer bailey contained the huts and homes and workshops of labourers and artisans, and peradventure a church for the devotions of all those who were voluntarily or perforce gathered round. Banks and ditches have disappeared as settlements have overgrown the old bounds, and it is difficult now to identify the lines of many an outer bailey.

A plan of Ongar, in Essex, which I have, shows all

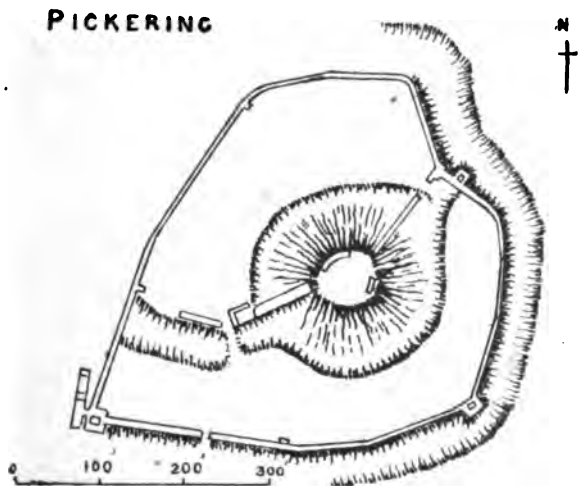
¹ On the north side of Hallaton is some banking (shown in the O.S.) which may indicate an outwork; but as it appears to have been caused by slipping of some swampy ground below, I omit it from my plan.



that is left of such an outer court, and shows, too, that the town's growth has largely obliterated its traces.¹

The power of the outer bailey has waxed strong, and the political might of the towns is upon us now, but the lord's keep and the soldier's bailey are desolated and deserted, surviving only as picturesque memorials of a long-decayed system.

I have spoken of the typical form in which the mound is placed at one end of the whole fortress, but there were



many exceptions to this rule; as where earlier banks were brought into use, or the configuration of the ground lent itself to a rather more central position for the main keep.

Pickering is a good example: the great mound stands upon the rampart and fosse which divide the fort into two long wards.

Sometimes we find the mound and court placed within the area of Roman fortifications, as at Castle Acre; or may be, within Celtic lines, as appears the case at Eddis-

¹ Though on high ground well above the valleys, Ongar moats had and have deep water in them; differing in this respect from other examples which I have shown.

bury.¹ But the most impressive exception to the simple type of castrametation is to be noted where the great mound is placed on a neck between great oblong or horse shoe courts, "producing a sort of hour-glass constriction," the whole forming an enclosure of royal dimensions, such as Windsor and Arundel, where stone has taken the place of wooden defences; and such, with some variation in plan, was Ongar, where little masonry was used.² By whom were these "mound-and-court" fortresses erected? Much controversy has accompanied the attempt to answer the question, and doughty champions have contended for the respective claims of Dane, Saxon, and Norman.

Hoping hereafter to express my views in an Appendix to this Paper, I now content myself with a quotation of my words published elsewhere:³—

"There is ample deductive evidence of the existence of moated mound-and-court earthwork forts prior to the Norman invasion of England, but the economic conditions of the Norman period alone can account for vast numbers of examples which remain. In short, I believe it cannot be said that these works are distinctively Danish, Saxon, or Norman, but that for between three and four centuries they were found to be the most useful form of defence for advanced posts, and afterwards for feudal holdings; always bearing in mind that wooden walls alone were possible on newly-made mounds and ramparts of earth."

(9) Passing from these "mounds of mystery," there remains but one type of defence to which reference need be made. Throughout England, though more frequently in the lowland districts, are simple moated enclosures without ramparts. The earth dug to form the moat being thrown inwards, the enclosed area is higher than the surrounding land.

Happily, we know the date of some of the old manor houses, etc., which were—or are—within the protected

¹ I am indebted to Mr. W. J. Andrew for a sketch plan of this interesting example, which (I think) shows Celtic banking and a Roman road, in addition to a "mound-and-court" fort.

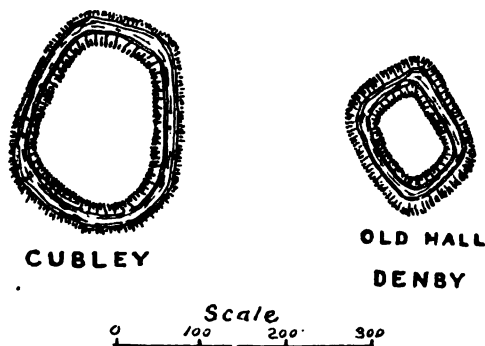
² The plan of Ongar shows the two courts on the west, but it seems highly probable that there were also two courts on the east, or one court with a great outwork, cutting off the site of the fortress.

³ *Notes and Queries*, 9th Ser., vi, 134 (1900).

area ; and, presuming the age of the moats to be that of the erections, we know that they are works dating from the fourteenth to the sixteenth and even seventeenth centuries. Hilly and rocky districts are not furnished with many, but among Derbyshire examples may be mentioned Cubley Hall and Denby.

It is rather in eastern England that one looks for conspicuous and extensive works of this type, but time will not allow of their enumeration.

Some consider the moat was rather for the protection of stacks and stores from wild beasts than from men ; but the double moats which some sites possess seem to



indicate the fear of human foes, and the castellated architecture of many moated houses shows provision against warlike enemies. Nor must it be forgotten that some of our eastern moats are furnished with banks or low ramparts for additional defence. Too often this feature has been cultivated out of existence, but happily examples remain here and there.

Picturesqueness is apart from our subject ; but who can forget the beauty of such moated mansions as Ightham, Moreton, Parham, or Leeds Castle, though the water of the last forms a lake rather than a moat. The position of some deeply-moated enclosures by the creeks of the east, up which early raiders passed, makes one doubt whether their first use must not be dated far before the period usually assigned. Who shall say ?

Together we have traversed Pre-historic, Roman,

Saxon, Danish, Norman, and Mediæval periods in this rough sketch ; and I am satisfied if I have said ought, however imperfectly, to increase the interest in earthwork evidences of the past conditions of life in the land we all love so well.

In conclusion, I should like to have shown you a plan of an earthwork fort constructed only some few years ago by our Government.¹ With its steep scarp, deep moat, and high ramparts of earth, it startlingly resembles the pre-historic work of two or three thousand years ago ! Verily, the day of defensive earthworks has not yet passed.

¹ Perhaps it is for patriotic reasons that the Ordnance Survey omits the fort from its maps : an example we respect and follow.





THE SITE OF LONDON BEYOND THE BORDER A THOUSAND YEARS AGO.

BY THE REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A., VICAR OF BARKINGSIDE.



THE end of a century it is natural to look back on the past, and see what things were like one hundred years ago; and also what they were like a thousand years ago. Now, especially in view of the millenary of King Alfred the Great, it is appropriate to consider what the state of things were in and about the year 901, when the foundations of the British Empire were being laid; when England first became a naval power; when the institutions of the Anglo-Saxons were gaining fixity and form. The work has already been done fairly for England in general under Alfred, and I have ventured to lay before Cornishmen in London a sketch of Cornwall a thousand years ago (where the evidence is really fuller than we might expect, or we should find to be the case, in many English counties). May I, to-night, with your permission, lay some thoughts before you as to the state of London beyond the Border a thousand years ago? What London beyond the Border—*i.e.*, the vast region of Stratford, Plaistow, East and West Ham, Barking, Woodford and Walthamstow—is now we all know, *i.e.*, a huge city, larger and more populous than Rome, or Amsterdam, or many other Continental capitals; a town greater than Birmingham or Sheffield, or any of our great provincial towns, except Liverpool and Manchester. The vast region of houses and streets you may see for yourself easily any day. But what was

this densely-peopled region a thousand years ago? A vast primæval forest, with the little villis of Barking, Stratford, and perhaps of Wanstead, Walthamstow and Ilford in the forest clearings. The actual state of the forest is easy to imagine: if not exactly at the time named, yet by evidences a little later.

The great forest of Essex, one of the largest primæval forests in England, had probably never, up to this time—or indeed, till a much later period—been cleared. It remained as in the days of the Ancient Britons, or in the first period of human population, when the early Euskarian tribes, or the Neolithic or Paleolithic savages, chased in these forest glades the deer and the bull; or maintained a precarious existence against the bear and the wolf.

Perchance, no great change had passed over the great mass of this vast virgin forest since the days when the mammoth and the elephant ranged in the Tertiary Epoch among its woodlands, and gave their bones to interest geologists in the famous "Ilford beds" (which now lie well within the limits of Greater London.)¹ Some antiquaries of the period supposed that these elephants whose bones were found at Ilford may have belonged to the Romans, and had been brought over with the legions for military purposes in their British wars. This, of course, we all know has been exploded by palæontology. The elephants were at Ilford thousands of years before Rome was founded, or human beings existed in Britain, or anywhere. Here the bones were found of the mammoth, rhinoceros, ox, bison, and divers great mammals. It was a rich mine of fossils, and effected much for geology and palæontology some sixty years ago.

But I must not dwell on these most ancient records of the Forest of Essex. Let us turn to a more recent epoch, the so-called charter of Edward the Confessor, which may give us an idea of the forest inhabitants in

¹ Bison, musk-sheep, Irish elk, beaver, lion, hyæna, bear, rhinoceros, ox and wolf bones have been found here, and a hundred mammoths. These beds were lately gone over again, and an account appears in the last report of the *Essex Naturalist*; the discoveries were mostly of mollusca.

Anglo-Saxon days. I do not vouch for its authenticity as a document, but it sketches the state of things early in the Middle Ages.

“With hart and hind, do and bokke,
Hare and Fox, Catt and Brooke,
Wylde foule with his flock,
Partriche, feasant hen and feasant cock,
With green and wyld, stob and stock.”

The wolf, wild boar and roe are mentioned in Canute's forest laws, and doubtless ranged here. The wolf probably, and the boar certainly, abounded.

As for Essex wolves, may I, in passing, make two notes?

1. Cornish legend says that the last wolf in England was killed at Ludgvan, near Penzance. It is supposed that wolves existed in the wild regions of Cornwall after they were killed off in the rest of England. King Edgar was, as we all know, a great foe of wolves, and our ancestors owed much comfort and safety to him. But his clearing was not complete; for, under Edward I, Finchingfield in Essex was held by feudal service of keeping five wolf-dogs. Wolfhamston, in Barking, probably marks the existence of wolves in that parish.

2. In recent years a wolf was killed in Epping Forest, but it was not an European but an American wolf, and had probably escaped and taken to the forest thickets. This probably gave the plot to an amusing tale of an English wolf in one of our magazines.

The subject of wolves in London, and indeed in England, is an interesting one.

Stags, fallow-deer and boars abounded, but the wild boar, and even the bear, was found in Essex Forest up to the twelfth century.

In this forest, probably in 368, the Picts and Scots sought cover in their attack on London. Theodosius, the general sent by Valentinian, attacked them and drove them away from the city. There probably was much skirmishing “under the greenwood trees,” in what afterwards was known as Hainault and Epping Forests.

Most of the human population in this wild virgin forest of Essex probably was collected either at Barking around the Abbey, or along the fords on the Roman road. Stratford-atte-Bow marks by its name where the Stanstreet road reached the Lea, and Ilford where it crossed the river Roding. Probably there may have been a few huts at each. There seems to have been another ford two miles north of Ilford, where, at Hatton Corner in my parish, in digging a quarry, Mr. Crouch, in 1893, discovered some three hundred fragments of Roman remains, including a mortarium and an amphora. Beside these were horse and ox bones. Probably this marked a small military station guarding the fords near Wanstead. The Roding flowed then (as in our period) between dense woods on either bank; there was probably a military station guarding the northern fords of the Roding. Might it not be that when the *Ilford*, or dangerous ford, was impassable, one higher up was used (near where Wanstead now is), and this was secured by military defences by the Roman legionaries. This is an interesting subject in the history of Greater London.

There are two local events of early Saxon history connected with this part of the forest.

1. The baptism of some East Saxon converts by St. Chad, at Chadwell, or "the well of Chad"—an event probably connected with the early history of south Essex. St. Cedd, brother of Chad, took his station at Tilbury, before London.¹

2. The legend of the Seven Kings of the Saxons, who are said to have watered their horses at Seven Kings' Waters, when on a hunting excursion. This tradition is probably secured to our posterity in the name of Seven Kings Station, on the Great Eastern Railway. I therefore propose that Ilford should adopt the seven crowns, as part (at least) of its arms, *i.e.*, seven crowns *or*.

¹ London belonged to the Kings of Mercia about 718. "Lunden-tunes hythes or pool" was the great port of the Midlands, and separated from Essex possibly; the Lea was then the frontier of the East Saxons, and the great Essex forest marked the region between the Mercians and East Saxons.

This legend is not so improbable as it at first may appear. We know that Saxon kings often in time of peace met together and went a-hunting. We have actual records of the kings of Northumbria being on a visit to the kings of Essex. It is true that the legend of Seven Kings dining together is told of the Land's End. In both cases, however, there may be a substratum of fact, even though the number seven may have been made up somehow, and not be quite accurate.

But the chief place of the district, and the only one of importance in the early Saxon days, was Barking—from which, indeed, Barking Deanery (which includes in its three divisions much of London beyond the border) derives its name. Barking Abbey may be said to date its establishment from the period of the final conversion of London to Christianity, when Erkenwald established his See there. It was founded about 660, during the reigns of Kings Sebba and Sighere, Kings of the East Saxons, by St. Erkenwald, at the request of his sister, St. Ethelburga.¹

Barking is sometimes said to be the oldest convent for women in England. If, however, we assent to the view that Cornwall is a part of and a county of England (and this is now the legal view, though an English king was called "*Rex Angliae et Cornubiae*," and also an old writer speaks of the Tamar as the western limit of England), we may find, I think, traces of nunneries of a still earlier date. Probably St. Breage, the church of the Irish Princess, so celebrated now for its mediæval frescoes, was one. Possibly St. Burian may have been another. Both were older than Barking. But these old Brito-Celtic religious houses for women are mere probabilities (though, I think, evidence points in this way to their existence); Barking Abbey is a definite historic fact.

I question if we have now any actual remains of the Abbey as it was a thousand years ago. Possibly, like Greenstead Church, it was built of wood, and was burnt by the Danes. I would incidentally note that Greenstead Church is an excellent specimen of an Essex church

¹ Some say it was actually built in 680.

of the period of which I speak, and well worthy a visit by archæologists. In the year 870, Barking Abbey was burnt by the Danes, who sailed up Barking Creek, and also up the river Lea. A thousand years ago, probably, Barking was in ruins, unless some fishermen's huts existed there. The Abbey was restored by King Edgar, who gave it to Wulfhilda, who was Abbess there at a somewhat later period. Its interesting and important history, *i.e.*, its connection with William the Conqueror: the swearing of fealty to him there; the founding of Ilford Hospital; the rule of Mary à Becket; the retirement there of Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester, in 1399—all belong to a later period. I may say, however, that its influence on ladies' education may be traced in the famous satire of the Father of English poetry, Chaucer:—

“ And Frensch sche spak ful faire & fetysly
After the scole of Stratford atte Bowe,
For Frensch of Paris was to hire unknowe.”

The ideal lady-prioress, of the age of Cressy, was educated in a school under the Abbess of Barking. It is worth noting that at Barking, probably under the Abbey, has been found a Roman fibula, and several Saxon coins—including one of King Burgred. Roman bricks have also been found, probably the using-up of old materials so common in the Middle Ages.

Besides Barking, there probably was very little population in this region. Stratford—or at least some foresters' huts on its site—possibly existed from Roman times, and there may have been some huts near the *Ilford*. The Roman road was doubtless in disrepair, but perhaps used as a pathway through the great forest of Essex, which stretched (as local tradition, and I think historic evidence, points) “down to Bow Bridge and the river Lea.” Bow Bridge itself was a far later erection, belonging to the age of Queen Maud, wife of Henry I, to whom its foundation is ascribed. All from the Lea was a vast primæval forest, and long continued so: a hunting ground of the Kings of Essex, then of the Saxon Kings of the English, then of the Normans. It was a convenient distance from London, and was much used in Saxon and in later times.

But there were possibly at Wanstead and other parts of the forest some remains of Roman occupation. In 1735, some labourers found there (not far from the recent discoveries of Roman pottery at Hatton Corner) a tessellated pavement of a villa, some 20 ft. by 16 ft. The tesserae were of divers sizes and colours. On the outside they formed a red border, but in the centre a mosaic picture. A coin of Valens and many Roman bricks were also found there, showing that the forest at Hatton Corner and at Wanstead was not quite unpeopled in Roman any more than mediæval times. In other parts of Wanstead, Roman coins, bricks and foundations have been found. But probably the villas of Wanstead, Woodford (*the ford in the wood*, close to where Claybury now stands); Ilford (*the bad ford*) were mere petty clearings in the vast primæval forest of Essex, with huts of the foresters. That outlaws of the Robin Hood type may have existed here all through the Middle Ages is highly probable—indeed, to my mind, almost certain. “Under the green-wood” tree the laws of the English kings—whether Saxon, Norman, or Plantagenet—were not always supreme.

At this time the whole region of Plaistow must have been, as it was through the Middle Ages, a vast marsh, without population. London was the Town by the Lake, as has been now commonly accepted—Lyn = Lake; Don = Town. The eastern part of this lake was the Plaistow marshes, probably without human population, the abode of the water-fowl and the fish.

I hope I shall not in any way be transgressing our rules by, in conclusion, comparing the past and the present, and asking you before I finish to look at this region for a moment as it is: “look on this picture and on that.”

It is estimated officially that London over the Border will, before this year is out, contain nearly 700,000 people. The annual increase is now more than twice that of the whole population a hundred years ago. It has forty-six ecclesiastical parishes, and one of the largest boroughs in England—West Ham. Forty-three thousand people are said to be added annually to its population. Few towns in Europe are growing more rapidly. Most of the

district is built over in a dense network of streets with, as yet, few public edifices of great size or commanding architecture. But I need say no more: you can see it for yourselves any day. But when you visit it next, and see the crowded streets of Stratford, Plaistow, Forest Gate (whose very name reminds us of the fact I urge) remember it was all, in the ages our Association mainly considers, a vast virgin forest, with the Abbey of Barking and some little villas, as Stratford and Ilford, scattered along the remains of the old Roman road. Such was, then, not only a thousand years ago but only five hundred, the site where now stands huge London over the Border. Compare this picture and that of the past. What a change!

NOTE.—The Editor has kindly drawn my attention to the statement of Tanner in his *Notitia Monastica* (after referring to the old British monastery of Carmarthen): "King Eadbald is recorded to have founded, about A.D. 630, a nunnery at Folkestone in Kent, which 'tis likely was the first in England." He then disputes the views of Weaver and Sir W. Dugdale, "that Barking was the first nunnery in England which was not built till A.D. 680."



British Archaeological Association.

FIFTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL CONGRESS AT LEICESTER, 1900.

MONDAY, JULY 30TH, TO SATURDAY, AUGUST 4TH.

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Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, JULY 30TH, 1900.

THE Fifty-seventh Annual Congress commenced at Leicester on Monday, July 30th, with a reception of the members in the afternoon, at the Museum Buildings, by the Mayor and Mayoress, Alderman and Mrs. Windley, who were supported by Mr. R. Smith-Carington, F.S.A., the High Sheriff of Leicestershire, and various members of the Leicester Architectural and Archæological Societies, including the Ven. the Archdeacon of Leicester; Rev. G. J. E. Stocks, M.A.; Sir J. F. L. and Lady Rolleston; Alderman E. Wood, J.P.; J. W. Wartnaby, Esq.; C. J. Billson, Esq., M.A.; J. Goddard, Esq., F.R.I.B.A.; J. D. Paul, Esq.; S. Perkins Pick, Esq. (President of the Leicestershire Society of Architects); I. Fielding-Johnson, Esq., and Mrs. Fielding-Johnson; J. G. Grimsdick, Esq.; Orson Wright, Esq.; T. Harrold, Esq.; F. Morley, Esq.; J. Fewkes, Esq.; Rev. Hugh Bryan, M.A.; the hon. local secretaries; Colonel G. C. Bellairs, V.D.; Major Freer, V.D.; Rev. S. Thorold Winckley, M.A.; Rev. E. Jackson, M.A.; Rev. R. Titley, M.A., and W. B. Bragg, Esq. And among the members of the Association we observed the following: Messrs. W. de Gray Birch, LL.D., F.S.A.; Arthur Cates, F.R.I.B.A., and Mrs. Cates; C. H. Compton, C. Lynam, I. Chalkley Gould, R. Horsfall and Mrs. Horsfall; T. Cann Hughes, W. E. Hughes, W. J. Nicholls, A. Oliver, C. J. Williams, S. Rayson, G. Patrick, the Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley and Mrs. Astley; Mr. and Mrs. Pears; Mr. and Mrs. Birts; Dr. and Miss Winstone, Dr. Bensly, Rev. C. H. Evelyn-White, F.S.A., Mrs. McMillan, Mrs. Collier, Miss Bentley, Mr. and Mrs. Nathan, Mr. and Mrs. Simms Reeve, Mr. Fry, Mr. Bull, etc.

The Mayor, in openings the proceedings, said it was a pleasure to the Mayoress and himself to give the members of the Association a very hearty welcome to the ancient city of Leicester. His only difficulty was one of an archæological character, as to whether he should welcome them to the ancient city or to the modern borough.

Leicester was a city many generations ago, and he should be very glad if the gentlemen who were present at that Congress could throw any light upon how they lost their title. It would be more interesting, of course, to many people to point out how they could regain the title which had been lost so many years. Leicester was a city in 731, and Mr. Thompson, the historian of the town, said that title was in existence for over twelve centuries, and long after the town had ceased to be the see of a bishop. During the last few years, attempts had been made to restore the ancient name, but at present in vain. At any rate, Leicester was not a mushroom town. The Romans came there, had their encampment, and built their walls. They would be able to see during their visit a beautiful tessellated pavement of a Roman house, built, it was presumed, just outside the walls of the encampment. The Mayor went on to refer to the other features of interest in the town, including the Jewry Wall, the street of the Holy Bones, the ancient churches, etc. : and, in conclusion, said he thought they could boast of much to interest archæologists, and he trusted that the meetings of the Association in Leicester would be very pleasant and profitable.

Mr. R. Smith-Carington, F.S.A., in the absence of the President, the Marquis of Granby, then delivered the Inaugural Address, which has been printed in this Part of the *Journal*, pp. 1-16. The Mayoress also joined in welcoming the visitors in a few well-chosen remarks, in which she referred to the historical associations of the town, and made special mention of the great part which the guilds played in mediæval life, of which the Guild of Corpus Christi was particularly strong in Leicester.

Dr. W. de Gray Birch responded on behalf of the Association ; and in referring to the desire of the ancient town to be numbered once again among the cities of Great Britain, said that if the corporation would study the way in which another ancient town near London—Westminster—recovered the right to be called a city, there would be very little difficulty in Leicester recovering its ancient dignity. Although a city was supposed to be the seat of a bishop, Westminster had not a bishop, and Leicester, being in a similar position, should receive the same treatment.

The party then dispersed to examine the Roman and other antiquities in the Museum, under the guidance of Mr. Montague Brown, the Curator. The Museum is remarkably well kept and well arranged, a model of what a provincial museum may be made. It is particularly rich in Samian ware, found in the town and neighbourhood ; and as an illustration of the value which its Roman possessors set upon this

beautiful ware, it may be noted that many of the pieces had been broken, and mended with leaden rivets in Roman days. This ware would naturally be valuable in an outlying province of the empire like Britain, to which every piece had to be brought over sea from the Continent. The Roman milestone, discovered on the line of the Fosse Way in 1771, and marking a distance of "two miles from Ratæ," *i.e.*, Leicester, attracted much attention.

In the evening, the members and townsfolk attended a pleasant *Conversazione* given by the Mayor and Mayoress in the Museum Buildings.

TUESDAY, JULY 31st, 1900.

To-day was occupied with a visit to the Duke of Rutland's splendid Castle of Belvoir. Leaving Leicester at 10 A.M., a large party proceeded by train to Stathern, whence carriages were taken for the Castle. The drive through the beautiful park was much enjoyed, and some fine views were obtained. The view from the rocky height on which the Castle stands is, however, the finest of all, surpassing, it is sometimes said, even Windsor in its extent and beauty. Modern Belvoir is, of course, a magnificent pile, but has been so often described, and is of so slight archaeological interest, that we may pass it by. Of the ancient Castle, founded by Robert de Toden, standard-bearer to the Conqueror shortly after the Conquest, nothing now remains but a few fragments discovered in the foundations of the present building. It was probably erected on the site of an ancient British encampment. At the foot of the Castle hill, Robert de Toden, in 1077, founded a priory for four Black Monks, which in later days became a cell of the Monastery of St. Albans. Recent excavations made by Mr. Pogson, the landlord of the "Peacock Inn," though in a somewhat desultory manner, have disclosed some interesting remains of the foundations of the Priory Church, including nave, apsidal choir, and side chapels; but these are too fragmentary to enable any idea of the architecture of the building to be formed. The building formerly contained many monuments of the Toden, Albini, and De Roos families, but all are gone.

At the Evening Meeting, held in the Town Hall, Dr. W. de Gray Birch gave a most interesting account of the charters and other historical records of the borough of Leicester, in which he particularly impressed upon the Corporation the necessity of taking the utmost care of these precious documents. Proceeding, he said that we knew nothing of mediæval Leicester until the end of the twelfth century, the first charter being dated in the first year of King John. That much-

maligned king, who had been painted in the blackest colours, but whom he believed to have been as good a king as any we have had, recognised the value of more closely uniting together the interests of sovereign and people. In this charter the first mention is made of the "burgesses" of Leicester. It is short, but grants most important privileges. In those days, unless specially permitted, every man was compelled to remain in the town in which, and to follow the trade to which, he was born. This charter runs: "John, King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, Count of Anjou, etc., to all whom it may concern: Know ye that we have granted to our burgesses of Leicester, that freely and without any impediment they may go and perform their businesses throughout all our land, with all their matters of merchandize, saving to us all the dues and just customs which belong to us." Henry III granted three charters, Edward III twelve, and Elizabeth, James I, Charles I, and Charles II granted a great many. Among others, James I, about 1623, granted one giving "the power of purchasing houses, tenements, lands, rectories, tithes, and hereditaments of all kinds in the kingdom of England;" a most important one, as these things could not be done except by virtue of a grant. A charter is above all law, hence the importance of their careful preservation. In conclusion, Dr. Birch said he was glad to notice that, with one or two exceptions, the charters of Leicester had been well cared for, but all should be copied in the original and translated.

The second Paper was by Mr. W. A. Oarington, Archivist of Belvoir, entitled, "Belvoir Castle and Priory," and was read in his absence by the Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, M.A., Hon. Sec. The Paper, which will be published, dealt in an interesting manner with the history of the Castle, and of the various families who had successively held it, until it came into the possession of the Manners family; with the various charters granted—of which, here again, the earliest is one of King John; and with the foundation, history, and monuments of the Priory.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 1st, 1900.

To-day a large party started, at 10 A.M., in carriages and brakes for Kirby Muxloe Castle, Groby, Ulvescroft Priory, and Bradgate. The morning was wet, and the weather continued showery, but, notwithstanding, a most enjoyable day was spent in this interesting series of visits. Mr. J. A. Gotch, F.S.A., read a Paper descriptive of Kirby Muxloe. He commenced by saying that this was not so much a military stronghold as a fortified dwelling-house, though the dis-

tion was not at first perhaps very great. As civilisation advanced and security increased, the fortified castle or manor house gave way to the comfortable mansion. In early days the great hall occupied the centre, and was as much protected as the rest of the buildings ; later on it was placed in one of the wings, with larger windows ; and, later still, it was placed on the outer walls, protected only by the moat. After referring to Warwick Castle, Oxburgh, and Hengrave, which are all built round an inner courtyard, Mr. Gotch went on to say that here we have the remains of a fortified house, built round a court and surrounded by a moat. Nine-tenths of the fabric have disappeared, the parts that remain belonging only to the defensive portions, so that any restoration is largely conjectural. In the centre of the front, approached by a drawbridge over the moat, still stands the great gateway, flanked by two canted turrets ; at each corner stood a tower, of which one still remains. Half-way on each side is a projection in the shape of a tower. Opposite the entrance but not in the axial line, is another projection, which was probably the bay window of the great hall, and the moat is wider on that side. Kirby, in point of date, comes midway between Haddon Hall and Burghley House. Unlike Haddon it was built at one effort ; and, unlike Burghley, at a time when defence of a kind was still needed. Judging by the work and the symmetrical arrangement, it was built at a fairly late date ; and from the fact that the detail is entirely Gothic, it could not have been very late. It is built throughout of red brick, with a diaper of blue brick ; there are stone dressings to the doors and windows, the detail of which is rather large and simple.

Referring to the letters W. H. over the gateway, and to the figure of a maunch, which may be seen in the blue diaper work on one of the turrets, Mr. Gotch concluded that the Castle was built by Sir William Hastings, who succeeded his father in 1456, was a devoted adherent of Edward IV, was made a Baron in 1461, and beheaded by Richard III in 1483 ; and from the absence of a coronet he fixed the date between 1456 and 1461. The plain barrel vaulting of the lower rooms, and the brickwork of the staircase, is very fine. Each room contained a fireplace, though Henry VII's palace at Richmond, later on, still had none. There are no signs of plaster, the walls being probably covered with tapestry. Each of the canted turrets contains a round hole, with stone dressings, for cannon commanding the approach, and low down, so that the cannon could rest on the floor. The place has no historical associations, and how long it was inhabited is not known ; but it is most interesting as showing the domestic manners of the fifteenth century. This Paper will be published.

A move was then made to Groby, where Mr. I. C. Gould read the following :—

NOTES ON GROBY HALL AND CASTLE.

Close behind the house is the mound, a remnant of the Castle of Groby. For the sake of chronological order it would have been better first to have spoken there of the Castle and its belongings, and to have dealt afterwards with this old hall ; but as we are obliged to pass this way, it is well to say something of Groby Hall first.

In the thirteenth century the estate of Groby came into possession of the Ferrers family, who held it for some two hundred years till the



Groby Hall.

(Photographed by J. Burton and Sons, Leicester.)

line ended in an heiress, Elizabeth Ferrers, who married Edward Grey in the fifteenth century. There may be no reason to doubt the accuracy of the statement¹ that it was one of the Ferrers who built the oldest part of the hall, perhaps using material from the ruined Castle buildings ; but most of the windows and the doorways must, in that case, be insertions of later date.

To the Ferrers succeeded Edward Grey, who became Lord Ferrers of Groby, and from him descended Thomas, first Marquis of Dorset, who in the latter part of the fifteenth century, built the brick part of this patchwork mansion, and died in 1501.

¹ Nichols, *History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, vol. iv.

Leland visited the place about 1540, and his *Itinerary* says :—

“The ould parte of the Worke that now is at Groby was made by the Ferrares. But newer Workes and Buildinges there were erectid by the Lorde *Thomas* first Marquise of *Dorset* : among the which Workes he began and erectid the Fundation and Waulles of a greate Gate House of Brike, and a Tour, but that was lefte half on finishd of hym, and so it standith yet.

“This Lorde *Thomas* erectid also and almoste finishid ii Toures of Brike in the Fronte of the House, as respondent on eche side to the Gate House.”¹

Much that Leland saw has gone, but part remains as described by him : a fact for which we, as antiquaries, cannot be too thankful.

Perhaps the most interesting association of the place is with that much-trying lady, Elizabeth, the queen of Edward IV. Sir John Grey, son of the first Lord, Edward Grey, whose name has just been mentioned, married Elizabeth Woodville, but was slain at St. Albans in 1461. Elizabeth, doubtless still beautiful, was afterwards married to King Edward IV, and became the mother of the two unfortunate princes, Edward V and his brother, who were murdered in the Tower of London by order of the demon-king, Richard III. It is probable that many of her days were passed in this old hall.

Passing to the back of the hall we see the keep-mound and a few adjoining earthworks, all that remain of the once strong castle of Groby. We know that it was destroyed by Henry II, at that critical period when he reduced the power of the lords so effectually after the feudal revolt of 1173-74, and never from that day was any attempt made to rebuild the castle, but who shall say exactly when the mound was first raised ?

There is evidence of stonework here in solid masonry, but unless the foundation of that masonry was carried down below the artificial mound, which is hardly likely, we must assume that the mound was here for many long years to solidify sufficiently to carry a shell keep of stone. It may be that this fort, like some others of similar form, owes its first existence to the trouble between Saxon and Dane, when early in the tenth century the possession of the neighbouring town of Leicester was hotly contested : though for any evidence to the contrary it may be that in the eleventh century the Norman lord threw up the mound. Whether due to Saxon, Dane or Norman, it is tolerably certain that its defences were at first wooden stockading or palisading, and that the mound had stood for many years before the stone keep appeared on its summit.

¹ Hearne's *Leland-Itinerary*, I. 19.

The situation of Groby Castle, at the point where the ancient road from Leicester entered the wild forest district, rendered it of great importance to the Earls of Leicester, in whose hands it was, and to whom it served as an outlying defence till its destruction by Henry II.

There would have been more to show to day, but that, as Leland tells :—

“There remayne few tokens of the olde Castelle more then yet is the Hille that the Kepe of the Castelle stode on very notable, but ther is now no stone Work apou it.

“And the late *Thomas Marquesh* filled up the Diche of it with Earth, entending to make an herbare there.”

POSTSCRIPT.—The correctness of the assignation of the title “Lord Ferrers” to Edward Grey having been questioned by a correspondent of the *Athenæum* (August 18th, 1900), it may be well to refer to the information given in Sir Bernard Burke’s *History of the Dormant and Extinct Peerages* (edition 1883).

Sir Edward Grey, Knt., married Elizabeth Ferrers, granddaughter and heiress of William Ferrers, Lord Ferrers of Groby, and was summoned to Parliament in her right as Baron Ferrers of Groby, from December 14th, 1446, to January 2nd, 1449, and as Lord Grey of Groby from September 23rd, 1449, to May 26th, 1455. That he bore in 1446 the former title is evident also from the address of a special dispensation which he obtained in that year from the Archbishop of Canterbury. It should also be noted that Thomas Grey was summoned to Parliament in 1509 as Lord Ferrers of Groby.

A move was then made to Ulvescroft Priory, where Mr. Geo. Patrick, Hon. Sec., read the following :—

NOTES ON ULVESCROFT PRIORY.

In the *Journal* of our Association, for the year 1863, is published an exhaustive and valuable paper by the late Mr. Gordon Hills, a most conscientious and reliable authority, upon the history of Ulvescroft and the adjacent Priory of Charnley, about two miles off, with which it was united less than a century before the Act for the extinction of all the monasteries in 1537. Ulvescroft, or Osolvescroft, as it was anciently called, is situated within the borders of Charnwood Forest, described by Burton in 1622 as a “dearne and solitary place.” Leland, about a hundred years previously, says this forest “is commonly called the ‘Wast,’ and is 20 miles or more in cumpace ; in this forest is no good toune, nor scant a village.” I have gleaned from Dugdale, also from Burton and Nichols, in their respective Histories of Leicester shire, and from other sources without discovering much, if anything,

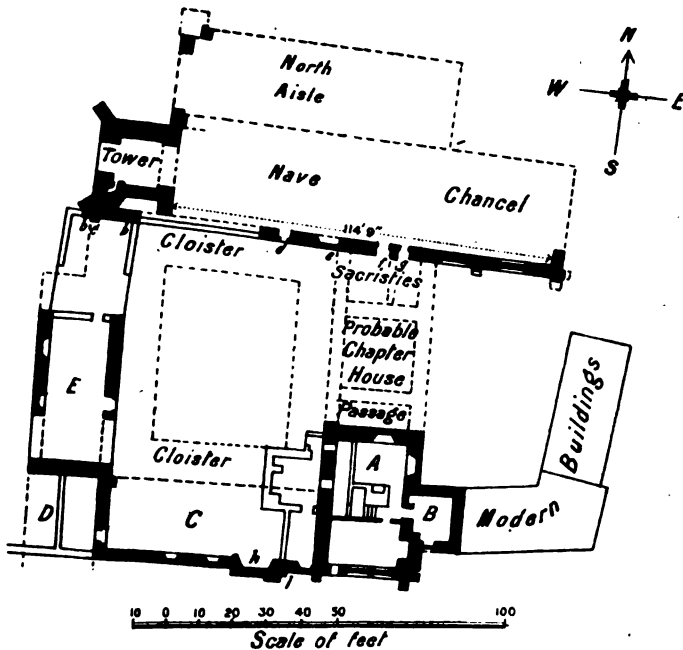
to add to the information Mr. Hills obtained from his painstaking researches into the ancient deeds and MSS. I will, therefore, not occupy your time by any lengthy historical account of this monastery, but briefly give you a summary of its history. It appears that, about the year 1134, a powerful noble and devoted adherent of King Stephen, Robert, Earl of Leicester, nicknamed "Le Bossu," was led to found this Priory for Friars Eremites. It is not clear to what order these brethren belonged, further than that they "professed a regular life," and that none could assume the office of Prior "except elected by common consent of the brethren according to the rule of the Blessed Augustin." As Mr. Hills remarks, the mention of Erenites and the rule of St. Augustin has led previous writers upon the history of these priories to consider them as originally for Austin Eremites or friars; but, he says, none of the passages in the old documents warrant that assumption: the truth being that the order of Austin Friars had no existence so early as the foundation of Ulvescroft (not till after 1220), and the older order of Austin Canons, although well known, was not fully established until 1139, when Pope Innocent III decreed that all regular canons should adopt the rule of St. Augustin. It was not till 1215-16 that the two great preaching orders of friars, Franciscans and Dominicans, were established by Papal Bull. It seems, therefore, most probable that Ulvescroft was founded by Robert le Bossu for eremites or friars who belonged to one of the many independent brotherhoods without any distinctive denomination.

The Ground Plan of the Priory which illustrates Mr. Gordon Hills's paper in our *Journal* I have had considerably enlarged for more easy reference; it shows the buildings as they remained thirty-eight years ago. There has been very little alteration since that time. The ruins, as we see them, are mainly those of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. There are some portions of Early English date, but I think none of the period of the original building, which belonged to the time of the semi-Norman style of architecture, the transitional between the Norman and Early English. The earliest buildings of all, those of 1134, were most likely mainly of wood, as the site, being in the midst of the forest, clearing would have to be made, and timber would be available, and the accommodation at first required would be but small, as there were only three inmates. There would seem to have been never more than eight, even in later times, when they were really Austin Friars, and subsequently, when they were reconstituted Austin Canons for a brief period of two years before the final extinction.

The whole of the buildings were surrounded by a lofty wall, which was moated outside in order to protect the inmates from the dangers

inseparable from this lonely situation in the forest waste. This wall in part remains on the south, east, and west sides. The space enclosed is in form a parallelogram, lengthwise from north to south, and rounded at the four corners.

The position of the church is on the north end of the enclosure and the domestic buildings on the south, their respective positions being determined by the water supply and the natural drainage of the land,



The Ground Plan of the Priory.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| A. Parlour or day-room of the Canons. | bb. 13th-century wall. |
| B. Part of private offices. | c. Wall of domestic buildings. |
| C. Refectory. | d. Early English door. |
| D. Probably the kitchen. | e. Two-light Early English window. |
| E. Probable guest-hall. | f. Early English door. |
| Tower, late 14th century. | g. Perpendicular door. |
| | h. Steps to pulpit. |
| | i. Corbelling cut for pulpit. |

which is towards the west and south. The church in its later period, the remains of which are now before us, consisted of nave, chancel, and north aisle with western tower. There is no evidence of what the earlier church was like; it probably consisted only of nave and chancel, as towers were forbidden in the early and more simple days of these friars and brotherhoods.

The north walk of the cloister and the conventual buildings abut against the south wall of the nave. There appears to have been no chancel arch; the clerestory ran all round the church without break from west to east (the *upper story* is the more correct term, as, strictly speaking, there is no clerestory), and the roof was in one unbroken length—or, if there were a division other than the rood-screen, it must have been by an arch carried on corbels, or springing direct from the walls, as there are no traces of wall-piers or shafts. Some of the corbels which carried the principal roof-timbers remain. Towards the middle of the fifteenth century, the west end of the nave was taken down to allow of the insertion within its length of the present tower. The western portion of the Early English south wall of the nave still remains alongside the tower, with an intervening space between the two walls; and the canopied top of an Early English buttress may be seen over the roof of the shed at this angle. In this narrow space or nook south of the tower there is a doorway at about 10 ft. from the floor of the tower; and there are indications of a floor across such space. At this level there is a slit splayed light looking into the church eastward. There are indications of another floor at about 9 ft. higher up, with a similar light looking into the church eastward, but there are no indications of any way to this. It may have been reached by wooden steps from the lower floor. This upper space has been flat-ceiled with stone flags, and above roofed with a lean-to roof. There are no indications whatever of any communication between the above spaces and the domestic buildings of the west side of the cloister. The turret stair has doorways to the two upper floors of the tower, and is entered from the church at the south-west angle. On the west face of the tower, you will notice the remains of the relieving arch of the west door. The upper windows of the tower have four-centred arches and were of two lights. The portion of the west wall of the nave, with the remains of the diagonal buttress, is probably of the same date as the tower; and the remaining portion of the west wall of the north aisle is of about the same period, although the low four-centred arch to the turret at the north-west angle which once existed would seem to indicate a later date. On the east face of the tower the weathering of the old nave roof can still be seen, *i.e.*, the roof before the clerestory or upper story was added. All that remains of the north aisle is some masonry at the north-west angle, a portion of an angle turret with a Late Perpendicular doorhead and four-centred arch—it is possible that this aisle was altogether an addition of the latter part of the fifteenth century. The north-west corner of the nave was finished with a diagonal buttress before the north aisle was built, and the remains of it are perceptible in the wall.

Remains of thirteenth-century Early-English work may be seen, as first mentioned, in the south wall of the nave, and in the two doors, lettered *d* and *f* on the plan, and at *e*, which is a mutilated two-light window, situated high up so as to allow the cloister roof to run beneath it. The door at *g* is of the fifteenth century, and opened probably into a smaller sacristy.

Of the domestic buildings of the Priory there are more traces remaining than of the Church, although they are but fragmentary. The greater part of the buildings which enclosed the quadrangle on the east side are totally destroyed, and we can only suppose that they followed the usual arrangement of sacristies adjoining the church; next came the chapter-house, which would be square; then, between the wall of the present building on the south and the chapter-house would be a passage called the "slype," leading into the garden. The building to the south, now the farmhouse, and lettered *A* on the plan, was the parlour or day-room. The walls are of great thickness, and are of the Early-English period, the windows and doors being insertions of the late fifteenth century. In the floor of this apartment, which is of square red tiles, is inserted a stone, circular in shape, and about 1 ft. 7 ins. in diameter. The tiles are laid in radiating curves from north to south to this stone in a very singular fashion, the tiles being purposely cut to suit the figure, which has somewhat the appearance of the two arms of a cross. There is a reddish stain on the stone, which local tradition proclaims to be blood. Over these apartments, to the south, extended the dormitory, and nearer to the church a portion of the space would be screened off to form the library, leaving a passage way to the stairs, which descended to one of the doors just mentioned, by which the canons entered the church for the night's services. At *C* on the plan was the refectory, occupying the whole south side of the enclosure, the projecting part lettered *h* being where the steps to the pulpit were situated. At *D* was probably the kitchen, with doorway of communication with the refectory. *E* was the guest-hall, and remains of the Early-English windows, which once lighted it, may be seen on its west side, now built up. Here was dispensed the lavish hospitality for which the house was so celebrated. Parts of the old timber roof still remain, apparently of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Northward of this apartment, indicated by the dotted lines, would be the porter's lodge, and the main entrance to the cloister. Of the cloister itself no trace remains above ground, but the soil has been much raised, and it is likely, if excavation was made, the bases of the walls which formed the enclosure of the Garth and supported the wooden uprights of the lean-to roof, would be met with.

Surrounding three sides of the site of church and buildings, outside the enclosing wall, was a broad and deep moat, which came close up to it. This moat was merged into the fish-ponds which extended all along the west side, and was crossed by a bridge on the east side.

It only remains to say that this Priory was one of those which received high testimony from the Commissioners, who visited it previous to the suppression of the smaller houses. They were greatly impressed with the saintly lives of the inmates, and the good order which was kept in the buildings. They have left on record their high opinion in a letter to Sir Thomas Cromwell, which is printed at length in Nichols's *History of Leicestershire*. In consequence of their good character the friars obtained a respite, and in 1536-37, by Letters Patent, the house was reformed for Augustinian Canons; but this did not last long, as on September 15th, 1539, the prior and canons entered their chapter-house for the last time, and signed the deed of surrender.

After the Paper, the ruins were as carefully inspected as the state of the weather—the rain was now coming down in torrents—would allow, and the objects of interest were pointed out. Before leaving, Mr. Lynam called attention to the certificate of character mentioned above, given to this Priory by the Visitors of Henry VIII to Thomas Cromwell, of which the following is a transcript of the original letter from the MSS. volume in which it is contained:—

"Cleopatra E. IV., fol. 249 (New folios).

"RIGHT . HONORABLE SIR—After myn humble Recomendacions thys shalbe taduertyse youe that I have Receyued your most Comfortable letters for the whiche in my Right . lowly wyse I Rendre vnto youe most hartie thankes. Pleasithe itt your mastresh[ip] to be fferther aduertised that we have sirueyed the howse or priorie of Brook[e] the certificathe whereoff I Sent you . by your ffermers sun . and my nephu Rog[er] Carell . this present the xvij day of June/ The Priorie of Bradley thabb[ey] off Wolueston, the Priorie of Kirby Bellers, the priorie of Woulstropp . and now be att thabbey of Garadon./ And Sir for asmyche as of late my ffellows and I d[id] wright . vnto Mr. Chauncellour of the Awgmentacions in the favour of thabbey of Seynt James and the Nunnerie of Catysby in Northamptonshire whiche lett[er] he shewed vnto the Kynghis highnes. in the favour of these howsez wher[at] the Kinghis highnes. was displeased as he said to my seruaunt Thomas Har[. . .] seyeng that itt was like that we had

Receyved Rewardes whiche caused vs to wright. as we dyd/ whiche myght. putt me in ffear to write nottwithstandyng the sure knowlege that I have had all wey in your indiffere[nce] gyvethe me boldnes to wright. to youe in the ffavour of the howse of Wols[tropp.] the Gouvernour whereof is a vere good husbond for the howse and welbeloued of a[ll] thenhabitantes thereunto adioynyng. a Right. honest man. hauyng. viij Religious persons beyng prestes of Right. good conuersacion and lyving religiously havyng. su[ch] qualities of vertu as we have nott fflownd the like in no place for ther y[s] n[ot] oon. Religious person. thear butt thatt he can. and do the vse eyther in brotheryng. wrytyng bookes with verey ffayre hannd makyng. ther own garnementes karvyng. payntyng or graffyng./ the howse without any sclandre or evyll ffame and stond[ing] in a west grownde verey solitarie keypyng. suche hospitalitie that except [by?] syngler good provision itt Cowld nott be meynteined with hálfe so muche lan[d] more as they may Spend/ Suche a nombre of the poure inhabitantes nye therunto dayly Relevyd that we haue nott sene the like havyng no more landes than. they have/ God be evyn. my Juge as I do wright. vnto youe the trothe and non. otherwys to my knowlege which vere petie all oon. causithe me to wright./ The premyssez whereoff Considered [fol. 249^b]. In. most humble wise I beseche youe to be amean vnto the Kyng his maiestie for the standing. of the said Wolstropp. wherby his grace shall do a myche gracious and a meritorious acte ffor the Relieff off his poure subiectes their and ye shalbe sure nott only to haue the Contynewall. prayour of those Religious persons thear butt also the hartie prayour off all thenhabitantes withyn. iiij or v myle abowt that howse And this ffor lack of wytt I am. bold to wright. onto youe the playnes of my harte as vnto hym. that of all lyving. Creatures I have most assured and ffaythfull trust yn. So knowyth. our lord god who haue you. in his most mercyfull tuyeion ffrom. Garadon. the xix day of June [1537].

“Your Bounden Bedeman

“att Comandment GEORGE GYFFORD.”¹

It will be noticed that the name of the Priory is spelled “Wolstropp,” and it is so given in Father Gasquet’s *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, without the author’s being apparently aware of the identity of the Priory referred to. But there can be no doubt that Ulvescroft

¹ A dot after such words as *highnes*, *Wolstropp*, etc., means an overlining of the lost letter, i.e., in some cases an *e*, in some a consonant, in some cases merely a flourish.

is intended—Wolströpp being only a softer variation of the name, by a man who had apparently only heard it mentioned without troubling to see how it was written.

Mr. Lynam also read the following :—

NOTE ON THE MONASTIC CHURCH.

The church consists of west tower, nave and chancel without any arch dividing them, and a north aisle ; no south aisle—the domestic buildings abutting on the nave itself.

The remains of the church, of almost wholly Perpendicular and Third Pointed date, belong to the beginning of Richard II, about the time of the patronage of Henry de Ferrars.

The north aisle was a late addition to the church. In the east end of the nave are remains of Early English work.

The tower was in the nave of the older building, and was probably inserted late in the fourteenth century, and may be connected with the change from Eremites to Canons.

In 1287 and afterwards, the Eremites were prohibited from erecting towers, and this was followed abroad up to 1659 and afterwards.

The Abbey is now a farm ; but it is sad to see a building once sacred to religious uses given over to cattle and pigs and fowls ; while the nave of the once-beautiful monastic church is filled with stacks, and the chancel is a dunghill.

After lunch at the “Bradgate Arms,” Newtown Linford, the drive was resumed through the park to Bradgate House, which was described by Col. Bellairs. Only the outer walls, the chapel, and one tower remain of this once-splendid mansion, which belonged to the Greys of Groby, and where Lady Jane Grey is said to have been born. It was here, at any rate, that her tutor, Roger Ascham, was amazed to find her engaged in study, while all her young companions were tilting in the yard, which may still be seen. Of her Fuller says, in his *Worthies*, that “she had the innocency of childhood, the beauty of youth, the solidity of middle, and gravity of old age, and all at eighteen.” The house remained until the beginning of the eighteenth century, when, according to Thursby, it was burned to the ground by the then Countess of Stamford. Writing to her sister in London, in answer to a question as to how she liked the place, she replied that the house was tolerable, the country a forest, and the inhabitants all brutes. Her sister thereupon advised her to “set fire to the house, and run away by the light of it :” which she is reported to have done. A fine monument to the first Lord Grey of Groby (of James I’s creation), who died in 1614,

and to his wife, is to be seen in the chapel, which has been recently re-roofed.

On the drive back to Leicester, Thurstaston was passed, where a cottage, said to have been the birthplace of Latimer, was noticed. But this is modern, Latimer's house having long since disappeared. Leicester was reached about 6 o'clock.

The evening meeting, which was well attended, was held in the large room of the Grand Hotel, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Perkins Pick, the President of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society. An interesting Paper, giving an account of all that may be known of the Abbey of St. Mary de Pratis, at Leicester, was read by Mr. C. H. Compton, V.-P., and will be published ; and Col. Bellairs, V.-D., read a careful Paper on "The Roman Roads of Leicestershire," which will also be published in due course.





Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 16TH, 1901.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., LL.D., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The Rev. O. H. Evelyn-White, F.S.A., was unanimously elected to a seat on the Council.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned for the following present to the Library :—

To the Kent Archaeological Society, for "Archaeologia Cantiana,"
vol xxiv, 1900.

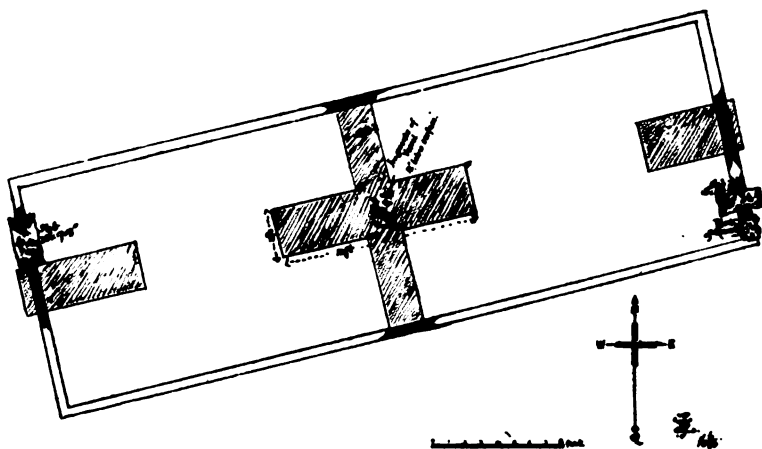
The Rev. H. J. Dukinfield-Astley, Hon. Sec., read the following Paper, by L. D. Jones, Esq., of Bangor, North Wales, which was illustrated with the accompanying carefully-drawn Plan and Map of the locality, and also by numerous fragments of pottery, charcoal, and the contents of the earthen vessel discovered, as stated :—

NOTES ON "‘YR EGLWYS WEN,’ OR THE WHITE CHURCH."

"About seven miles from the town of Bala, almost exactly due south, is a farm, in a bleak mountain district called 'Bryn-melyn', standing near a stream called 'Afonfechan.' About half a mile to the north of this farm, on the brow of a declivity overlooking an extensive tract of country, are two small eminences marked on the O.S. Map as 'Banciau Crynion' (Round hillocks). One of them is still conical in shape, but the other is truncated by having the summit, which consisted of small stones, quartz and granite, carted away by the farmers. I made a cutting across this one. I found it almost a perfect circle about 10 yards across, with the foundation of a wall around it. This wall consisted of good-sized stones, built rubble fashion, but without any trace of cement or plaster. About 2 ft. below the present surface I came to a bed of almost pure, clean, wood charcoal, about 3 ins. or

4 ins. thick. It appeared to be spreading in all directions, as if covering a floor. I found nothing else here, except a small piece of bone, which appeared to have been burnt.

"I made a slight attack on the other tumulus, but this appeared to be a natural formation, and I abandoned it. About 30 or 40 yards from these hillocks is an old track, said to be the Roman road, which I believe may be correct, as it makes for an old Roman station on the other side of the valley, called 'Caer-gai.' Below this road, and near the stream, is a level, circular, hard floor, artificially formed from the face of the slope. The peasants call this the 'Romans' Threshing-floor.' On the northern circumference of the circle was a large block



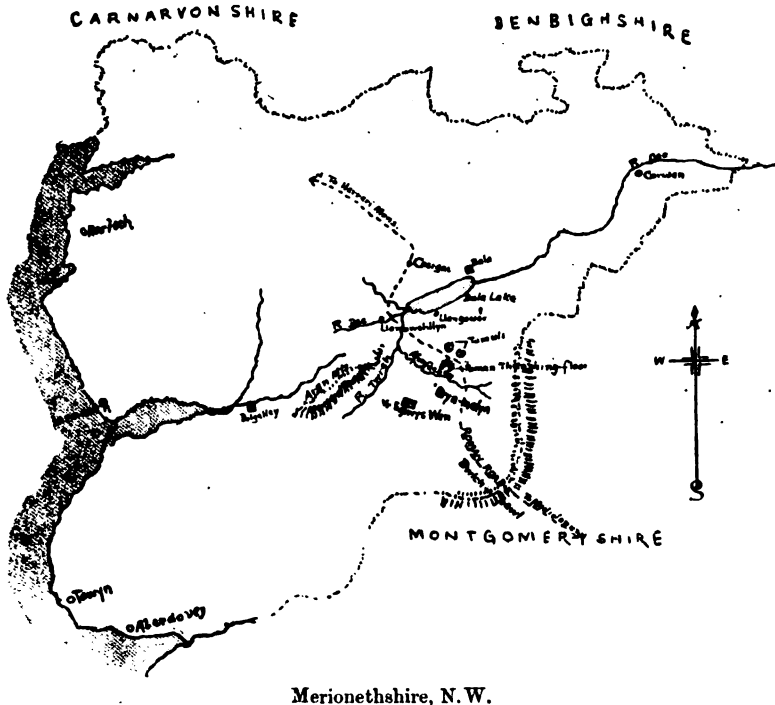
The lightly-shaded parts are excavations, about 15 ins. deep. The black parts are portions of the foundation exposed. Length, 45 ft. ; breadth, 15 ft.

of stone embedded in the marl ; its upper surface was flat and fairly even, and cracked in every direction by the action of fire, I believe. It looked as if fire had been burning on it, or that it had been used as an anvil. Whatever this flat space was, it was hard and well trodden, and the surface was covered with small flat stones.

"I then crossed the stream, and about a mile to the north of the farmhouse of Bryn-melyn came to where the people say the *Eghwys Wen* (White Church) stood. There was nothing to see above ground, except a large block of quartz, shown on the rough plan. The place was a rectangular level surface, 45 ft. by 15 ft., covered by tough skin of short grass of long growth. We made the cuttings shown on the sketch, and touched the foundation of a rubble wall at four points. Below the surface it was a dark, peaty mould to a depth of about

12 ins. or 18 ins., when we came to something more like a hard floor. The slabs marked on the sketch were found in the position shown. and appeared like door or window sills; no signs of treading were seen on them, and the stone being soft it was sufficient evidence that they were not door-steps or floor-flags.

“ The fragments of the vessel were found where shown, and the earth around it for a small compass had a darker colour. I send the contents of the vessel ; a portion of it stuck to the spot where the scar is seen



on the bottom, and it appears to have had some chemical effect on the glaze.

"I have not washed or cleaned the fragments, but have fastened them together with secotine; by placing the vessel in warm water the parts may be easily separated. Not far from this spot, to the south-east, is a pass called 'Bwlch y Pawl,' which means 'The Pass of the Pole,' or 'The Pass of Paul;' this name occurs in the history of Roderic the Great, A.D. 876 (see *History of Wales*, by Caradoc of Llanerddan, London, 1774, p. 35). Whether *Yr Fglwys Wen* was here then, or here at all, I cannot say, but I think the Roman road

from Mediolanum to Conovium did pass-this way, and after coming over this pass it throws out several branches, which may still be traced by tracks and place-names."

In the discussion which followed, the Chairman and others expressed the opinion that it is too early as yet to come to any decision as to the value of the find, but it was understood that it is proposed to undertake a thoroughly systematic exploration of the site later on, in order to determine, if possible, the nature of the buildings which seemingly originally existed on this spot.

Dr. Winstone exhibited, on behalf of Mr. Fry, a seal found in an excavation at Dover, 6 ft. below the surface. The seal is finely cut, and exhibits a portrait of a young man resembling Sir Walter Raleigh, and it may be a conventional portrait of that worthy, but it was considered of later date than his time.

A Paper was next read by Mr. Patrick, contributed by Dr. Fryer, upon "Norman Fonts in North-East Cornwall." These fonts, form a group of nine, in the parishes of Altarnon, Callington, Jacobstow Landrake, Laneast, Launceston, Lezant, Lawhitton, and Warbstow. They are all of the Transitional Norman period, very much resemble one another, both in design and workmanship, and are particularly interesting as affording further evidence of a band or a school, or a guild, of carvers and masons. The Paper, which will be published, was fully illustrated by a beautiful series of photographs of the fonts, kindly presented by Dr. Fryer. In the discussion following, Mr. Gould drew attention to the ordinance directing the locking of fonts, which was enacted in Stephen's reign, and asked for information. This was not in force, he thought, for many years, but was seemingly re-enacted at a later period, as he knew of some instances in which the locking was apparently continued up to the fourteenth century. The Rev. H. D. Astley said that he did not know of an Act passed in Stephen's reign, but that in 1236, i.e., in the reign of Henry III, Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury, ordered that baptismal fonts should be kept locked as a precaution against sorcery (the exact words are: "*Fontes baptismales sub sera clausi teneantur propter sortileges*"). He was not aware that the order had ever had legal force, nor that it had ever been rescinded.—The Hon. Secretary announced that, upon the invitation of the Mayor and Corporation, the Congress this year will be held at Newcastle-on-Tyne.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 30TH, 1901.

W. DE GRAY-BIRCH, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The following member was duly elected :—

Mons. L. Forrer, Edelweiss, Chiselhurst.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the subjoined presents to the Library :—

To the Smithsonian Institution for "Annual Report, 1898." Two vols.
 „ Roumanian Government for "Fouilles et Recherches Archæologiques en Roumanie," per D. Medayano, 102, Victoria Street, S.W.

Mr. R. H. Foster gave an interesting and able lecture upon the Roman Wall, which was illustrated by over fifty lantern-slides, many of which were prepared specially for the purpose.

The following are Mr. Forster's own notes of those parts of his lecture which deal with the most recent discoveries and the conclusions based on them; together with four of the views which he exhibited, and which, by his kindness, we are enabled to publish.

SOME NOTES ON HADRIAN'S WALL.

1. *The Vallum at Downhill, near Corbridge.*—At this point the vallum, which has for a considerable distance been running parallel with the wall, makes a sharp angular bend, and skirts along the south side of Downhill, a prominent height formed by an outcrop of the limestone, while the wall keeps to the brow of the northern face of the hill. Here an ancient road has been discovered, cutting through the vallum; and it has been suggested the road is Roman, and the vallum, therefore, of an earlier date than the wall. Downhill, however, has been extensively wrought for limestone from an early period up to comparatively recent times, and it is somewhat doubtful whether any ancient road in its immediate neighbourhood can be definitely classed as Roman.

But even if we assume it to be a Roman road, the deduction as to the age of the vallum is not justified; it leaves out of account the length of the Roman occupation, which lasted for nearly three centuries. If the wall and vallum, viewed as one work, were designed not only as a defence against the north, and a means of protection in case of rebellion in the ultra-mural province, but also as a cordon or barrier for isolating that province from the unsettled country beyond the wall,

and for preventing the unsubdued clans from communicating with and fomenting rebellion amongst the conquered tribes, while the latter were settling down as peaceable subjects, then this secondary purpose would be fulfilled in the course of one or two generations ; and after the province had become thoroughly settled and Romanised, it would no longer be necessary to maintain the vallum, the wall being sufficient for the defence against the north. It is therefore quite natural to find Roman roads interfering with the vallum, just as in many cases we find it obliterated in the neighbourhood of the stations ; and this explains Horsley's statement that the military road, which accompanies the wall, runs in many places on the north agger of the vallum. In such cases the road has probably been diverted from its original line :



Vallum at Downhill.

except on the steeper slopes, there would be a tendency for the space between the wall and the vallum to become swampy—I have myself seen pools of water standing there two or three days after rain—and when the vallum had ceased to be necessary for its original purpose, the easiest way of avoiding such swamps would be to divert the road, where necessary, to the north agger.

At the west side of Downhill the vallum bends back, and resumes its usual position with regard to the wall. The whole diversion is probably due to a desire to avoid the necessity of rock-cutting, and perhaps also to keep the limestone free for quarrying. It is also possible that Downhill, which commands an extensive view, may have been an important look-out and signal station. Mr. W. E. Heitland, of St. John's College, Cambridge, has drawn my attention to the following passage in Vegetius, iii, 2 : "Aliquantum in castellorum aut

urbium turribus adpendunt trabes, quibus aliquando erectis aliquando depositis indicant quae geruntur." This certainly seems to show that the Romans had some system of semaphore signalling; and if it were in use on the line of the wall, Downhill would undoubtedly be one of the signal stations, even if semaphores were not set up on all the mile-castles and turrets.

2. *The East and West Gates of Cilurnum.*—This station, like Amboglanna, had two eastern and two western gates, viz., a double-arched gate on either side, opening immediately to the north of the point where the wall joins the wall of the station, and a single-arched gate at either side, opening behind the wall on the line of the military road, there being thus three large gateways giving access to the extramural country. It is probable that the object of this arrangement was to enable cavalry (Cilurnum was garrisoned by the Second Ala of Asturians) to issue from the station with greater speed; and there is some evidence that a broad street ran round the northern half of the fort, close under the outer walls, connecting these three gates.

3. *Cilurnum: the Suburban Buildings by the River.*—These are an extensive range of buildings below and to the east of the station, in the angle between the river and the military road: they have been variously described as a bath or a temple, but in all probability they were a villa. The drains, tanks, and water-channels which remain are not more extensive than a villa would require, especially if we suppose it to have contained a small bath for private use. The supposition that it was a temple is based mainly upon the fact that an altar, dedicated to Fortuna Conservatrix, was found in the largest chamber. However, nearly all the altars dedicated to that goddess which this district has produced have been found in buildings which bear the appearance of villas or dwelling-houses, though they are often described as "baths" by old writers, who usually classed any building containing a hypocaust under that head without further inquiry. In a border region, where property was particularly liable to sudden destruction (and this very villa has at some date been destroyed and restored), an altar dedicated to Fortuna Conservatrix might very suitably be set up in a private house.

This chamber, which seems to have been the atrium, has in its western wall a series of seven round-topped niches, 3 ft. in height and 2 ft. in breadth, which possibly contained statues of the deities who presided over the seven planets and the seven days of the week. The niches are not unlike those which form part of the sculptures discovered at Old Penrith in 1813 (see *Lapidarium Septen-*

trionale, 805). These latter are five in number, and represent Apollo Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, and Venus, Diana and Saturn being lost.



Cilurnum : Niches in Villa.

At the back of the villa is a rectangular recess about 14 ft. square, which is bounded on three sides by the villa walls and is open at the back ; it seems to have been roofed over, and probably formed the



Cilurnum : Supposed Kitchen.

kitchen. I am informed that kitchens of this type are to be seen in Italy at the present day. In one of the interior corners of this recess, the hypocaust which heated the villa is brought outside the main

building, forming a kind of stone table, above which is a hatch, or window, opening into one of the adjacent rooms on the floor level. It is possible that this table formed a kind of "hot plate," on which the dishes were set until they were required; they would then be passed through the hatch to the triclinium within.

4. *The Ditches at Limestone Bank.*—Across the summit of Limestone Bank, the ditches of the wall and vallum have been cut with extraordinary labour through the hard basalt of the Great Whin Sill, and the place is of importance in considering the relation between the two lines. Elsewhere, as at Harlow Hill and Downhill, the vallum avoids places where the rock comes to the surface, if (apparently) it can do so without going to any considerable distance from the line of the



Recess in Wall, Cuddy's Crag.

wall; the same thing may be observed in the neighbourhood of the basalt hills from Sewingshields westward, on the southern slopes of which the rock is only thinly covered; there the vallum, though farther from the wall than elsewhere, is always in sight of it, and generally as near as the suitability of the ground for digging will allow. At Limestone Bank the vallum might have avoided this heavy rock-cutting, by taking a line considerably further to the south: but this would have increased the distance between the wall and vallum to an amount much greater than the space which separates them at any other point on the line.

5. *Alterations in the Thickness of the Wall.*—In many places the thickness of the wall is suddenly altered by an inset or offset on the south side, varying from 6 in. to 12 in. The theory of the late Dr.

Bruce—that such places show the points where two working parties joined up their sections—is insufficient. In most instances the insets occur in corresponding pairs, forming a long shallow recess in the south face of the wall, of a length varying from a few feet to about 30 yards ; and in some cases the bottom course is not set back at all, or only for a portion of the length. The most curious instance of this kind of variation occurs just east of the Housesteads Mile-castle, where the changes are as follows : From the west, decrease, 10 in. ; then straight for 16 ft. 6 in. ; increase, 9 in. ; then straight for 32 ft ; then another increase of 6 in., and a decrease of the same amount 7 ft. further on. Then straight for 73 ft. 4 in., at the end of which there is a decrease of 8 ins.

6. *Amboglanna*.—This station is of almost exactly the same design as Cilurnum, having two eastern and two western gates ; but while at Cilurnum the wall joins the fort at the south side of the main east and main west gates, at Amboglanna it falls in with the north wall of the station. This must be considered in connection with the “turf wall” discovered by Mr. Cadwallader Bates at a little distance to the west of this place, and the additional ditch, which lies close to the so-called turf wall, on the north side, and is supposed by Dr. Bruce to have been a strengthening of the vallum. After examining the spot, I am inclined to believe that the turf wall has no real existence, and that the indications which gave rise to the idea rather point to the brink of the scarp of the ditch having been built up with turf—possibly the turf removed from the surface when the ditch was dug. This ditch really represents the original line of the works at this point. Between it and the road which now represents the site of the wall is a stretch of flat meadow land with deep drains, which clearly show that the place was formerly a marsh. The ditch of what I will call the original design passes to the south of this, and I have traced it from the point where it diverges from the ditch of the amended design, to within a few hundred yards of Amboglanna. Its direction, where it is last traceable, is such that, if the wall were standing at the usual distance from its southern edge, the wall would join the wall of Amboglanna at the south side of the larger western gate—exactly as it does at Cilurnum ; and this is confirmed by Maclauchlan’s survey. To the east of the larger eastern gate there is a mound of some length, which if prolonged westward would touch the wall of the station at the corresponding point. These facts, together with the analogy of Cilurnum, make it practically certain that the original design of the wall has been altered, though at present we cannot say definitely whether the wall was ever actually built on the more southern line :

the change may have been made after the ditch was dug, but before anything further was done. It may be that the space between the marsh and the edge of the Irthing ravine was found too narrow to contain the whole of the works without undue cramping ; or the change may have been occasioned by an alteration of the arrangement of the troops, by which the Cohors I Aelia Dacorum was stationed here, instead of the cavalry regiment for which Amboglanna seems to have been designed.

The series of views ended with that of the last fortress of which the name can be identified.—In view of the forthcoming Congress at Newcastle-on-Tyne, the lecture was much appreciated.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 6TH, 1901.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following new member was duly elected :

Sherborne School Library, per F. Bennett, Esq., The Parade, Sherborne.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the subjoined presents to the Library :—

To the Agent-General for New South Wales, 2, Victoria Street, S.W., for "The Climate," "The Fauna," "Forty Years Progress," "Agriculture," "The Mining Industry," and the "Timber Resources of New South Wales." Six pamphlets.

„ Royal Institute of British Architects, for "Journal," vol. viii, 3rd Ser. First Quarter Part "Congress Supplement," vol. vii.

The Rev. C. H. Evelyn White read a Paper on "Some Recently-discovered Earthworks, the supposed Site of a Roman Encampment, at Cottenham, Cambridgeshire." Several plans of the earthworks were supplied. These earthworks are of a very singular nature, extending over twenty acres of ground, and have hitherto been unnoticed, so far as the writer was aware. Immediately to the north of Cottenham parish church is the Cottenham Lode, and abutting upon this lode to the north-west is an unploughed field of about $8\frac{1}{2}$ acres, in which are situated the principal entrenchments. This field is bounded on the north-east by the Car Dyke, while the roadway known as the Setchell Drove, running nearly parallel with Cottenham Lode, encloses it on that side. Here are visible large rectangular ramparts of chevron or zigzag formation, with a ditch on each side ; the forma-

tion extends into the field beyond the Setchell Drove, which cuts through it; and there are remains of geometrically-formed entrenchments in the surrounding fields. The trenches are well above the old water-level of the Car Dyke, and vary in depth from 6 ins. to 2 ft. Mr. White exhibited a large number of pieces of Roman and other pottery, which is found in abundance all over the site, Samian, Upchurch, and red ware, some bearing potters' marks and decoration. One fragment of the neck of a vase or urn bore an unusual type of ornament, in the shape of a series of straight lines going up from the collar. The only article of personal adornment found was a portion of a bone pin having a series of notches for ornament, somewhat resembling one illustrated in Keller's *Lake Dwellings*. The question to be decided by antiquaries was, whether these remains indicate the site of a British settlement or of a military position, as the peculiar formation of the entrenchments would rather suggest. A discussion followed, in which Mr. Bull (a native of Cottenham) described how his attention was directed to these earthworks. Mr. I. C. Gould said that, while there were undoubted traces of Roman occupation of the locality, it remained to be proved whether they had anything to do with the ramparts and ditch, which seemed to be rather mediæval, perhaps dating even from the Civil War of the seventeenth century. The Rev. H. D. Astley said that, if the Romans had an encampment here, it would probably have been of the usual rectangular formation; while if of earlier date, it would have been circular or oval, and would, besides, have been on some rising eminence. The chevron or zigzag formation seemed almost modern. There might very possibly, and as the abundance of pottery seemed to indicate, have been a station, or perhaps the villa-residence of a country gentleman, in Roman times. The Paper will be published.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 20TH, 1901.

R. W. KERSHAW, ESQ., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library :—

To the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne for "*Archæologia Æliana*," vol. xxii, Pt. II, 1900.

„ Powysland Club for "*Collections*," vol. xli, Pt. III, Dec. 1900.

„ Somersetshire Archæological Society, for "*Transactions*," vol. vi, 3rd Ser., 1900.

„ Sussex Archæological Society, for "*Collections*," vol. xliii, 1900.

A paper was read on "Some Old Halls in Wirral," by Mr. W. Ferguson Irvine, who illustrated it by many fine photographic views shown by the lantern. The Hundred of Wirral possesses many special characteristics, due mainly to its peculiar surroundings and situation. Wirral (or "Wurrall," as the old natives call it) is the tongue of land lying between the estuaries of the Mersey and the Dee, and contains the only coastline which Cheshire possesses; it is, in fact, a peninsula being connected with the rest of the county by one narrow end. The halls and manor-houses of Wirral differ in many respects from the rich examples of domestic architecture for which Cheshire is celebrated; nevertheless, they are not without quaint and picturesque features. One peculiarity about them is the half-timber construction, which is confined entirely to the frontages, the rest of the wall being of masonry. In Bidstone Hall we have a good specimen of the style of architecture of the early seventeenth century, the house being built in 1620 to 1622. In the deer park is still standing an old wall, over 6 ft. high and about 4 ft. thick, built of rough stones, which is referred to in almost every lease of the Hall as far back as 1609 as "the great stone wall." Its antiquity may be much greater, as tradition records it was built when wages were a penny a day. The wall is popularly known among the villagers as the "Penny-a-day Dyke." Chief amongst the buildings described and illustrated were Leasowes Castle; Storeton Hall, connected with many memories of the historic house of Stanley, dating from about 1360, and architecturally a good example of the fourteenth century; Shotwick Hall, and the partly timbered houses of Irby, Hooten, and Plessington. A somewhat unusual feature of these old halls is, that not one of them can boast of having been the residence of a king or queen; yet the histories of many of them, as told by Mr. Irvine, were romantic and interesting.





Antiquarian Intelligence.

The Commune of London, by J. HORACE ROUND, M.A. (London : Archibald Constable and Co., Westminster. 12s. 6d. nett).—The title of this important work, from the pen of Mr. Horace Round, is derived, not from the first but from the most interesting and valuable, of the essays it contains. These essays are chiefly connected with obscure points of English history of the twelfth century, and readers who are familiar with Mr. Round's *Geoffrey de Mandeville* and *Feudal England*, need not be told that this book also is the result of original research and industrial plodding among Pipe Rolls, charters, and other ancient documents. Mr. Round thus comes across numerous facts which disprove the statements and opinions of previous historians, who have been content to accept their information at second-hand. Too much praise can scarcely be awarded to him for the fresh and accurate knowledge he obtains, and the true light he throws on many dark pages of our early history. But his method of using his information is sadly to be deprecated. No one can read this work without a feeling of regret that so much ability should be devoted to the jealous ambition of proving that everyone else is wrong—and, after all, Mr. Round is not the only pebble on the beach of Norman history. It is not a very difficult matter to select some statement or theory from the numerous pages of a brother historian's work, and treat it to the familiar *reductio ad absurdum* process ; but Mr. Round is not content with laying his competitor in the dust ; he would even bring his work into contempt. For instance, speaking of one of the Rolls Series, he says : " That a certain percentage of mistakes must occur in works of this kind is, perhaps, to be expected ; but when they are made the vehicle of confused and wild guesswork, and become the means of imparting wanton heresy and error, it is the duty of a scholar who can prove the fact to warn the student against their contents . . . The further exposures of this official work, contained in these pages—especially in the Paper on "The Inquest of Sheriffs," which illustrates its wanton heresies—justify my demand that the authorities should withdraw it, till revised, from circulation." But this must be Mr. Round's idea of a very mild criticism indeed, as in *Feudal England* he

publicly proclaims the author in question "*my friend!*" Others he treats with scant courtesy : some are "pitfalls for the unwary," all are guilty of errors, some of "double errors," and one of "a series of fantastic errors." Personalities abound, but sometimes the innuendo is carefully veiled, as in the case of a well-known professor of history, who, "of course, questions my theory ; but scholars, I understand, accept it." Finally certain names are selected to be pilloried in the index, followed by such expressions as "his errors," "misreads his MSS.," etc. Sometimes Mr. Round plays the rôle of his own critic in such modest terms as "my crushing *exposé* of Mr. Freeman's vaunted accuracy," and "because I exposed Mr. Freeman."

It is now a relief to turn from the mind to the matter ; and the residue of the book, like all Mr. Round's writings, throws a flood of clearer, often of new, light upon every subject with which it deals. And various indeed are the topics included : "Place-Names in Sussex and Essex," "Anglo-Norman Warfare," "The Origin of the Exchequer," "The Inquest of Sheriffs (1170)," "The Conquest of Ireland," "Bannockburn," "The Marshalship of England," and half a dozen other kindred subjects. But "London under Stephen" and "The Commune of London" will appeal to most as the cream of a clever series. In "Anglo-Norman warfare" Mr. Round proves once more—and, surely, for all time—that the only defence of the English at the battle of Hastings was "the close array of the shield wall," and his arguments that the numbers engaged at the battle of Bannockburn have been grossly exaggerated are equally sound. We have nothing but praise for his masterly expositions of the value of the study of "Place-Names," and for all he has to say of the real origin of the terminations "ing," "ton," and "ham" in opposition to the very doubtful theories of patronymics and Anglo-Saxon "totemism." This subject he has since pursued in a valuable Paper, read before the Congress of Archæological Societies in 1900.

In the Paper on the Conquest of Ireland, Mr. Round gives us a graphic picture of that distracted time, and clearly demonstrates that it was the dissensions of the Irish chieftains which rendered the conquest under Strongbow so comparatively simple a matter. Suddenly, the versatile author advances some eight centuries, and points a moral in modern Irish politics more suitable perhaps to a maker than to a recorder of history.

In "The Pope and the Conquest of Ireland," one of the most involved of the lesser problems of mediæval history is dealt with ; but we feel that even now the last word has not been said upon the subject. Mr. Round rejects the Bull "*Laudabiliter*," but accepts the three letters

of Alexander III, which are in the Black Book. He thinks that Giraldus concocted "Laudabiliter" and the confirming Bull; but when he suggests that Giraldus joined in a conspiracy with some official English historians—we hesitate. However, his essay loosens if it does not untie the knot, and should hasten the time when it will be universally admitted that no race, party, or church among us can exploit the story of "Laudabiliter" to its own advantage.

Under the heading "The Origin of the Exchequer, Mr. Round explains in detail many interesting comparisons between the customs of payment as recorded in *Domesday* and those entered in the early Pipe Rolls. With most of his arguments historians will agree, but when he throws doubt upon the honesty of purpose of the author of the *Dialogue of the Exchequer*, by suggesting that he was "biassed by his eagerness to exalt Bishop Roger, his relative and the founder of his family," they will demur, for even Mr. Round's theory of his identity has yet to be proved.

Although chronologically separated in the text, the two essays on London should be read together; and if Mr. Round's chapters on the same subject in *Geoffrey de Mandeville* are also referred to, as vivid a picture of civic and domestic life in the twelfth century is presented as the most exacting of us could desire. In "London under Stephen," the author has relied for most of his material upon the charters of Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate, and the Collegiate Church of St. Martin's-le-Grand. Some of the former are printed in the *Monasticon*, but Mr. Round, as usual, brings to light inedited MSS. from their obscurity, and from the whole selects the characters for the foreground of his picture until one can almost see them in life. One of these charters, which he assigns to the year 1137, relates to certain "land in dispute which was in East Smithfield, within the soke of the Cnihtengild, which lay outside the wall from Aldgate to the Thames, and therefore adjoined immediately the Tower precinct. The priory having now acquired the soke, complained that successive Constables of the Tower had encroached upon this land to make a vineyard." The cultivation of the vine was then making rapid progress in England, for though it is referred to in Henry I's Pipe Roll under three counties only, in Henry II's Early Rolls vineyards seems to have spread over most of the southern half of the country. The title to the land in dispute is, as Mr. Round points out, "carried back straight to the days of Edward the Confessor, and is decided by the oath of twenty-one men, familiar evidently with the locality;" but "that ancient and remarkable institution, the English Cnihtengild of London, remains shrouded in mystery. It is known to us only through the gift of its

soke to Holy Trinity Priory, and the consequent preservation among that Priory's monuments of charters confirming that soke from Edward the Confessor downwards." From this it seems clear that the Cnihtengild held the soke from Saxon times, and transferred it to the Priory by the charter of 1125. Mr. Round, however, does not notice that, according to a transcript of Queen Matilda's charter of 1108, she granted to the Priory "the gate of Aldgate, with the soke belonging to the same, which was my lordship." But this, though interesting as showing the large possessions of the Priory in that district, is perhaps outside Mr. Round's main object, which is to trace the history and follow the fortunes of the leading citizens, and prove their connection with the Cnihtengild and the various civic offices of the day. In so doing he upsets the previous theory that the grantees of the Cnihtengild soke in 1125 were admitted into the Priory as canons when they made their gift. In fact, to put it shortly, Mr. Round's "London under Stephen" may almost be called "Who was Who in 1136-54;" and not the least interesting of his many discoveries are those of the names of Gilbert Becket, as early as in the 1137 charter, and of Osbert Huitdeniers, the kinsman and employer of the great Archbishop, to whom another of 1139 is addressed.

"The Commune of London" is an essay of unfortunately only forty pages, but everyone of these bristles with points new and vital to the civic historian. Mr. Round is in his element, and one only regrets that the whole work was not devoted to London in the twelfth century. He puts aside the theory that the governing body of the City was ever the Cnihtengild as resting upon no foundation, and points out that "the only institutions of which we can be sure are the 'folkesmote' and the weekly 'husteng' of Henry I's charter, and the shrievalty." We wish he had also referred to and explained away the "*præpositus* of London," to whom, jointly with the Bishop and Sheriff, Henry I addressed one or two of his charters; for this word has been, erroneously we think, translated "mayor," instead of its probable meaning, "portreeve." We agree with the author that he has finally established his contention that Henry I's great charter to London must have been subsequent to the 1130 Pipe Roll, and that then, for the first time, the citizens elected and were governed by their own sheriff. It is highly improbable, as Mr. Round urges, that after the extreme partizanship shown by the citizens in the cause of Stephen against the House of Anjou, Henry II would further extend their privileges; and so it is not until October, 1191, that a Commune was granted to London. Like all early charters of privileges this entailed a considerable monetary payment to the Crown; and, unfortunately for our self-conceit,

it was not the outcome of gradual evolution from an elected sheriff to an elected mayor and Commune ; but, alas ! according to the author, "we find conclusive proof that the Commune of London derived its origin from that of Rouen." In the latter half of the twelfth century, Communes were established in many cities of the Continent, and Mr. Round gives cogent arguments in favour of the absolute identity of the constitution of that of London with the one established a few years earlier in our then Norman capital of Rouen. Thus, he infers that its system was transplanted bodily from that city, and was not the outcome of any previously existing administration. The crisis of October between King Richard's representative, Longchamp, and his brother John, in 1191, was London's opportunity ; and "finding that she held the scales, she promptly named the 'Commune' as the price of her support."

That a Commune did not necessarily entail a mayor is evidenced by Mr. Round in the instances of Beauvais and Compiègne ; but as long ago as in 1893 he "expressed a hope that some document might yet be discovered which would throw fuller light upon the mayor and on his connection with the 'Commune' of 1191." Now he has found it. We all know that the mayor is mentioned in King John's charter to London, but the indefatigable author has discovered a record of "the Mayor of the City of London" in the spring of 1193 : thus proving a simultaneous, or almost simultaneous, origin to both Mayor and Commune. The document containing this tells us even more than Mr. Round ever expected, for, to quote his words, it "comes to our help with a flood of light, proving as it does that London, in 1193, possessed a fully developed *Commune* of the Continental pattern."

Space will not permit us to dwell on the remaining essays, and we must leave even untouched "Ingelric the Priest and Albert of Lotharingia," "The Inquest of Sheriffs," "The Coronation of Richard I," "The Struggle of John and Longchamp," "The Great Inquest of Service," "Castleward and Cornage," and "The Marshalship of England." Of these, perhaps, "Castleward and Cornage" more especially appeals to us ; but none should be omitted by the student of history, and all will repay thoughtful perusal, even when followed here and there by the query of the hesitating critic.

W. J. A.

Sweet Hampstead and its Associations. By MRS. CAROLINE WHITE (London : Elliot Stock, 15s.).—We must devote some lines to a rather belated notice of this handsome volume, which we make no doubt has already taken a worthy place among the numerous publications of an antiquarian nature issued by the enterprising firm represented by Mr.

Stock. A pathetic interest is attached to the work, when we bear in mind that, as Mrs. White tells us in her Preface, "the first draft of



Holly-bush Hill, 1840.



Vale of Health, Hampstead, 1840.

the book was laid aside, but never forgotten, for more than thirty years (and those among the busiest of a busy life), and has only recently

been reverted to—a task bringing back images of the past, looked at from the perspective of eighty-nine years.”

And so, as an old inhabitant of the delightful suburb whose tale she unfolds, the authoress chats pleasantly of men and things through nearly four hundred pages, many of which are adorned with illustrations and portraits, which vividly recall the past and present condition and associations of the once-smiling village and now populous borough, to which she happily applies the epithet of Constable, who wrote of it: “When shall we see you at sweet Hampstead again?” Mrs. White is never deep, but she is never inaccurate; she is somewhat diffuse, not to



Squire's Mount, about 1840.

say garrulous, but cannot that be forgiven to a lady, burdened with her “pile of years”? The tale of Hampstead's early history is rapidly passed over; and then we meet, walking through her pages, in their habit as they lived, Evelyn, Pepys, Steele, Addison, Johnson and Boswell; Joanna Baillie, Charles Lamb, Leigh Hunt, Keats, Shelley, and many another, whose names lend an undying lustre to that charming neighbourhood, and on whose history she has thrown much fresh light, and brought together much interesting information, and many forgotten incidents and memories. No reader who is touched with the halo of the past can fail to derive pleasure from a perusal of this book: some of the illustrations to which we are enabled, by the courtesy of the publishers, to reproduce,

History of Surrey. By HENRY ELLIOT MALDEN, M.A. (London: Elliot Stock, 10s. 6d.).—This is the latest volume in Stock's "Popular County History" series, and we have no hesitation in saying that it is by far the best of any hitherto published, not even excepting Mr. Conybeare's *History of Cambridgeshire*, which was remarkably good. We note with pleasure that the value of these volumes steadily increases as the series advances, and the too-popular character of the earlier books is being discarded for a more scientific treatment of the history of the several counties. The present volume will form an admirable introduction to the great *Victorian County History*, of which we believe we are right in saying that Mr. Malden has been chosen to edit the portion allotted to Surrey. In dealing with the events in the long story of England's development with which Surrey is more especially connected, the author shows a marked historic insight, keen critical acumen, and an instinct for dramatic arrangement. For, as he points out, this county has nothing particular, either in its boundaries or its situation, to mark it off from its neighbours, and it has always been to a certain extent subordinate to its great rivals north of the Thames. What is true of the county as a whole is exemplified by the position held by Southwark in relation to London. Surrey in pre-historic and early historic times is well dealt with; the account of the successive families who held the earldom of Surrey, Warren (or rather De Warenne), Fitz-Alan and Howard, is clear and accurate; and the story of the manors, of the feudal tenures, and of the growth of the towns, such as Guildford, Godalming, and Dorking, is ably told.

The author's reasons for holding that Gundrada, wife of the first William de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, was the step-daughter of William the Conqueror, i.e., daughter of Matilda, the Conqueror's Queen, by a former husband, are cogent and forcible, and will we believe be now generally admitted.

Surrey played an important part in the history of the kingdom in Henry III's reign, when the Battle of Lewes placed the King and Prince Edward for a time in the power of Simon de Montfort and the justly-discontented barons—among whom, however, must not be reckoned John de Warenne, the then Earl, for he fought on the side of the King, and was among those who fled, too early, from the scene, and escaped abroad. The interest of Surrey in Elizabeth's days centres in her one great town, Southwark, with its dependencies of Bermondsey, Lambeth, Wandsworth, etc, for there the citizens of London amused themselves with bear- and bull-baiting; there, too, was the home of the first real national drama, several theatres being opened in the closing

years of the sixteenth century, the last being "the Globe Theatre in which Shakespere had a share," which was opened on Bankside in 1599. To go back for a moment, we must not forget that earlier scene, so graphically and humorously described by the "Father of English Poetry," when the pilgrims gathered at the sign of the "Tabard" in Southwark, ere starting on their eventful journey to Canterbury, to visit the shrine of St. Thomas à-Becket: a scene repeated over and over again during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries.

What Southwark was to the citizens in the days of good old John Stowe, that the whole county is to-day—the playground of London, with practically no individuality of its own; existing only as a vast suburb to the great city, its healthy air and breezy downs, and woodlands and heaths, affording an indispensable breathing-space to the toilers of high and low degree, We heartily congratulate the author upon the production of this interesting book, which contains a useful Bibliography, and a good Index.

Bermondsey: its Historic Memories and Associations (London: Elliot Stock, 12s. 6d.).—This book deals in an interesting manner with the many-sided history of this now bustling and busy borough, whose present-day associations are mostly connected with the tan-yard.

To those who know Bermondsey in the full tide of business activity, it would often give pleasure to reflect upon the scenes and characters associated with this familiar place, because, in order to enjoy the history of the past, it is not necessary to be a *laudator temporis acti*. Reverence for antiquity is perfectly compatible with high appreciation of the advantages of the present, and the fullest use of its opportunities.

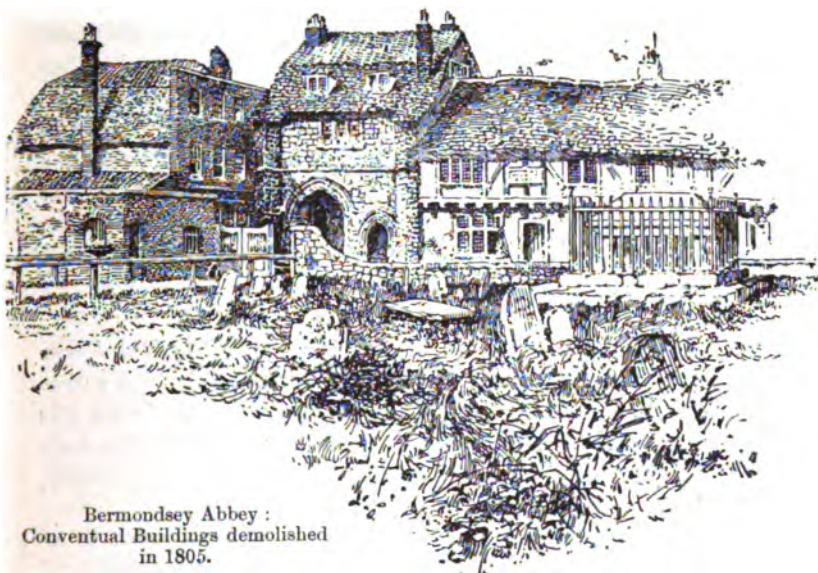
In ancient times Bermondsey was the "Westminster of South London," the seat of a great and famous Abbey, founded in the reign of William the Conqueror. Dynasties of English Sovereigns, Normans, Angevins, Lancastrians, Tudors, figure as patrons and benefactors of the Monastery. Bermondsey Abbey is linked with the names of William Rufus and Henry Beauclerc, Stephen of Blois and Henry Plantagenet, Edward III and Richard II, Henry IV and Henry VII; with those of Maud of Boulogne and Eleanor of Aquitaine, Katherine of Valois and Elizabeth Woodville.

As we review its story, the pageant of mediæval history seems to revive before us; the "stately monastery, with the good cheer in its refectory, and the high mass in its chapel," rises in all its majesty; we find ourselves "in the company of knights like those of Froissart, and pilgrims such as those who rode with Chaucer from the 'Tabard'"

For not sovereigns alone, but many of the greatest feudal barons, vied with one another in lavishing gifts upon the monastery, and paying honours to its occupants.

Nor, even with the fall of the monastery did greatness depart from Bermondsey. On the ruins of the Abbey arose Bermondsey House, built by Sir Thomas Pope, founder of Trinity College, Oxford, whose name belongs to history as the friend of Sir Thomas More and the guardian of Elizabeth at Hatfield.

After Sir Thomas, a still more illustrious personage chose the manor house as his residence : the famous Earl of Sussex, immortalised



Bermondsey Abbey :
Conventual Buildings demolished
in 1805.

by Sir Walter Scott in *Kenilworth*, the rival of Leicester and the patron of Raleigh, who died in June, 1583 "at his house in Bermondsey beside London," as Stowe has it. The author has written the history of the district with much pains ; his style is popular ; he deals well with his facts ; and many illustrations, together with a careful Index, make the book one which may be recommended not only to lovers of Bermondsey, of whom the author is certainly one, but to all lovers of antiquity.

The Oak Hamlet : a Short History of the Local and Personal Associations of the Village of Oakham, Surrey. By H. St. JOHN H. BASHALL (London : Elliot Stock, 5s.).—This is an example of a local and parish history, of which the get-up is considerably better than the matter.

The author is Parish Churchwarden, and a member of the Surrey Archaeological Society, and from his long residence in the neighbourhood ought to have been well qualified for his task. He seems to have gone to ancient documents, manorial rolls, the parish register^s and *Domesday*, and from these and other historical sources he might have drawn information which would have been both new and useful, but his ability is not equal to his intention.

One or two mistakes must be noticed: the date of *Domesday* is 1085-6, not 1068 (p. 3); mal(e)practices is evidently intended instead of "male practices (p. 41); and Henry VIII should be Henry VII (p. 52). But these are slight blemishes; others much more serious disfigure the book. The derivation of the name is, to say the least, doubtful; the supposed nunnery at Oakham, and its supposed underground connection with the monks at Newark, is quite imaginary; modern trivialities are used as padding, though its pages are few; and the list of "Kings and Queens of England" is an absurd addition to a local history. As a lecture the matter contained in this book was useful, but there was no further need for it. The illustrations, especially the reproductions of water-colour drawings of about 1830, give the book a value it would not otherwise possess.

Rambles Round the Edge Hills and in the Vale of the Red Horse. By the REV. GEORGE MILLER (London: Elliot Stock, 6s.). The author of these "Rambles" is already known by previous works on *The Parish Diocese of Worcester*, *Battle of Edgehill*, *Glossary of Warwickshire Words*, etc., and he tells us that this is the second edition, revised and enlarged, of the present work.

In that case it is a pity that he did not take more pains to be accurate and up-to-date in his information, and more consistent with himself in his opinions. For example, he mentions, in the Preface, "Gundred" (*sic*), and calls her the fifth daughter of William the Conqueror. If by "Gundred" he means, as we suppose, Gundrada, who married William de Warrenne, it is now the generally-received opinion that that lady was not the daughter of William I, but of Matilda, his Queen.

Again, his remarks on Place-Names ending with "ton," or "ham," or "ing," or "hampton," or "ington," or "ingham," are largely based on the exploded theories of Kemble and others as to Anglo-Saxon patronymics; and on this subject we would advise him to study Mr. J. Horace Round in the *Commune of London*, and also that writer's valuable pamphlet on "Place-Names," read before the Congress of Archæological Societies in 1900, before he brings out a third edition

of his book. So much as to inaccuracy; as to inconsistency, we would refer the reader to the author's remarks on the derivation of the word *hide* on p. 45, and ask him to compare it with what is said on p. 126. Both (or rather, the *three*, for there are really two on p. 126) derivations cannot each be right. Which does the author attach himself to?

The book seems, indeed, to have been put together with some haste and carelessness, in spite of the revision and enlargement; and the author in more than one instance repeats himself, *e.g.*, a whole paragraph on p. 171 is repeated virtually word for word on p. 194.

In spite, however, of these and other defects which might be noticed did space permit, the book is not without its value. The author discourses pleasantly upon a most delightful part of England; and as he carries the reader with him among the towns and villages of the Edge Hills, he has many a "quaint and curious story" to tell of what would otherwise be "forgotten lore." His description of the Battle of Edgehill, with the accompanying plans, is good. In the Appendix he gives a really graphic, and for the most part accurate, picture of rural life in bygone days; and the Tables of prices and values are carefully compiled. The *Glossary of Warwickshire Words* contains many which are not peculiar to the district, and some, such as *bimeby*, *bullyrag*, *half-baked*, to *jack up*, *yarly*, etc., which are mere colloquialisms; but in these days of a growing uniformity, owing to the spread of an identical system of education throughout the country, all dialectal words and phrases are worthy of preservation.

This is, on the whole, a book that is worth making better than it is.

A small book which we have also received from Mr. Stock, entitled, *The Minor Writings of Charles Dickens*, by F. G. KITTON (4s. 6d.) is the latest volume of "The Book-Lovers' Library," and is as neat and daintily got up as usual. It can hardly be considered of antiquarian interest, but, containing as it does a full bibliography of all the lesser writings of the great novelist, it is certainly a book which no lover of Dickens "should be without." In these days of rampant sensationalism, any book which stimulates an interest in Charles Dickens—who, with all his faults of style and occasionally false sentiment, was a true student of human nature—is to be welcomed.

Contents-Subject Index to General and Periodical Literature. By A. COTGREAVE, F.R.Hist.S. (London: Elliot Stock, 7s. 6d.)—We have much pleasure in recommending this work to the attention of our members. The author is Librarian of the West Ham Public

Library, and of the Guille-Allés Library, Guernsey, and this volume may be viewed as an attempt, and a very successful one, of one busy Librarian to give some idea of the value of such an index, if the work were undertaken by a body of experts, and it were published periodically. We have tested it on such subjects as "Folk-lore," "Architecture," "Abbeys," "Castles," "History," "Biology," "Natural Science," etc., and have found the information conveyed full and complete within its compass. Such a bibliography is calculated to save much valuable time, and the present is a praiseworthy and meritorious commencement.

Discovery of a Neolithic Burial in Egypt.—One of the most interesting of recent "finds" is described above. We subjoin the inscription on the tablet in the British Museum, where the body of this long-departed chieftain now safely rests. It runs as follows:—

"Body of a man who was buried in a shallow oval grave hollowed out of sandstone on the west bank of the Nile, in Upper Egypt. Before burial the body was treated with a preparation of bitumen, and was arranged in the posture in which it now lies—on its left side, with the hands before the face, and the knees drawn up nearly level with the chin. The grave (which has been roughly imitated by the model here exhibited) was covered with slabs of unworked stone; and in it, beside the body, were disposed flint knives and a number of vases, partly filled with the remains and dust of funeral offerings. The man probably belonged to a fair-skinned, light-haired race, which may be regarded as one of the aboriginal stocks of Egypt, whose settlements are usually found on the west bank of the Nile. The style of the flint implements found in the grave indicates that the man lived in the early Neolithic period of Egypt, that is to say, in remote ages long before the rule of Menes, the first historical King of Egypt."

It may be added that his skull is of the shape known to histologists as dolichocephalic, and that possibly the race came originally from Asia. His height, if he were standing up, would be 5 ft. 9 ins.

Discovery of a Neolithic Cemetery in Cornwall.—The following account of one of the most striking of the British discoveries of the past year, is taken from the *Athenæum*:—

"A discovery of the highest importance to the study of the prehistoric races inhabiting England before the first Roman invasion, has recently been made in a remote corner of Cornwall. On a sloping sandy hill-side, overlooking the picturesque white sand bay of Harlyn, excava-

tions were being made by Mr. Reddie Mallett for sinking a well, preparatory to building a house overlooking the sea. The spot selected for boring turned out to be exactly in the centre, not of a tumulus containing but two or three interments, but of a perfect cemetery, with three distinct layers of burials of men, women, and children. The drift-sand, that is so extensive in this part of Cornwall, rose some 8 ft. to 10 ft. above the graves, but when the original, hardly-compressed sand was reached, the great slates with which the cists were carefully formed, were often not more than 2 ft. below this surface.

"Of these cists some forty to fifty have been discovered. Unfortunately, the discovery was not at first thought of importance, and some graves and their contents were destroyed; but, on finding more, Mr. Mallett (with the valuable aid of Mr. W. T. Crank, of Clifton, who happened to be staying in the neighbourhood) carefully preserved, and Mr. Crank photographed, the finds; and then the Rev. W. Iago, the well-known Cornish antiquary, visited the spot, and, acting for the Society of Antiquaries, the British Museum, and the Royal Cornish Institution, at once proceeded to open carefully other cists, and make plans and drawings of their position and contents. In a few days he was assisted by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, and a tent was erected for protecting the finds as excavated, watchers appointed, and the public restrained from damaging or carrying away bones or *trouvailles*.

"It was deeply interesting to work down amidst the overdrifted sand of modern days to the huge slabs of slate that we now know covered the remains of a people of pre-Christian days. In the best preserved cists we came upon an upper slab of slate, some 3 ins. to 5 ins. thick, and 4 ft. long by 2 ft. to 2½ ft. broad, supported on four upright slabs, these being retained in position by boulders of spar. Often this slate was nearly resolved again into its original mud, but at other times it was perfectly firm and hard. On working away this shale, and lifting the great slate, below would be seen oftentimes a perfect skeleton, lying on its left side, with hands brought up to the shoulders and knees to the chest, the heads in nearly all cases to the north, and facing to the east. This is exactly as the early burials are depicted in Bateman's *Ten Years' Diggings*, and in Jewett's *Grave Mounds*. The one thing that was disappointing was the scarcity of implements or weapons, and the utter absence of pottery. Three spinning-whorls were found, several slate knives or dagger-heads, two halves of a well-worked slate (?) arm-ring, two copper rings, much encrusted and oxidized; and, on the day I left the diggings, an apparently iron fibula,

with its clasp. Some large broken teeth were also found, said to be those of an ox.

"The skulls were of the dolicho-cephalic order, the teeth in many being well preserved, ground down flat with work, and most of them entirely free from signs of caries. Feeling that it was of the utmost importance these skulls should be scientifically examined, I suggested Dr. John Beddoe should be sent for. On writing to him I found that, although he was at the British Association meeting, he was willing to come down; and Mr. Baring-Gould arranged that the whole of the skulls and the complete skeletons should be packed in cases, specially prepared, for his thorough examination; and on September 11th we drove out with Dr. Beddoe, who made a careful examination of the site and of the cists, witnessing the opening of several, and taking measurements of some of the skulls and bones. The longest femur measured $17\frac{1}{2}$ ins., giving a man of about 5 ft. 6 ins.; and the skulls he then was able to measure. Dr. Beddoe pronounced of the Neolithic order; but he is to make a careful examination of the whole, and will report upon them to the Societies who have interested themselves in, and subscribed for, the work. Many of the bodies were buried without cists, and tiny cists for little children were discovered; sometimes a skeleton would be found above the slate that covered an earlier burial, and apparently there were three generations of burials. Harlyn Bay lays two-and-a-half miles south-west of Padstow, and is in the centre of numerous tumuli, many of which have been opened, as those on Bray Hill, on the north shore of the Padstow estuary. Some brilliant red sand, found on the surface of the lower stratum of the local brown sand, suggests the presence of iron, and there are other problems yet to be worked out in this highly interesting discovery. It would have been well if the whole site could have been covered in, and the discovery preserved intact and *in situ*. In Austria or Germany this would have been done by the Government.

"JAMES BAKER."



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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
British Archaeological Association.

JUNE 1901.

THE ABBEY OF ST. MARY DE PRATIS,
LEICESTER.

BY C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.-P.

(Read at the Leicester Congress, August 1st, 1900.)



AS a preliminary to the investigation of the history of this important monastic institution, it will be well to ascertain who was its founder. That he was one Robert de Beaumont, who lived some time between the invasion of William, Duke of Normandy, until after the accession of Henry II is clear enough; but there were, during that period, several persons of that name whom our early chroniclers have somewhat mixed up. With the aid of the valuable Paper on the "Genealogy and Armorial Ensigns of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Leicester," read by the late Mr. Planché ("Rouge Croix"), at our former Congress in this town in 1862,¹ and the authorities he has referred to, we may venture on the authenticity of the following account:—

In the year A.D. 1107, according to Ordericus Vitalis, the earldom of Leicester, which had remained in the hands of the sovereign from the death of Edwin in 1071,

¹ Published in vol. ii of *Collect. Archaeologica*, Pt. I, p. 30.
1901

was bestowed by King Henry I on his chief councillor and firm adherent, Robert de Beaumont (otherwise Belmont and Bellomont, Comte de Meulan, son of Roger de Beaumont, Seigneur de Pontauderner, by Adelina, daughter of Waleran de Meudan : her brother Hugh having assumed the monastic habit, and died in the odour of sanctity without issue. Robert de Beaumont obtained from Henry, King of France, for a sum of money, the castle of Meulan, and succeeded his uncle in the Comté. Accompanying his father Roger, "the old Sire de Beaumont," in the invading army of Duke William,¹ he distinguished himself by his valour at the Battle of Hastings; for which eminent service he had conferred upon him (*inter al.*) the greater part of sixteen lordships in Leicestershire, which his father, Roger de Beaumont, had previously possessed. This Robert, Earl of Leicester and Comte de Meulan married² "the beautiful Isabel, niece of the King of France, by whom he had twin sons, Waleran and Robert, who were born in 1104, and another son, called Hugh the Poor, with five daughters." This lady, who was daughter of Hugh the Great, Comte de Vermandois, son of Henry I, King of France, and brother of Philip, King of France, is often called Elizabeth; and Mr. Nichols, in his *History of Leicester*,³ says, perhaps, Isabella might be the first wife. Mr. Planché says: "Mr. Nichols does not seem to be aware that the names Isabella and Elizabeth are identical."

We learn from Ordericus that Henry I had kindly

¹ In the *Battle Abbey Roll*, so ably edited by the late Duchess of Cleveland, she says, speaking of Roger Beaumont, that he furnished sixty vessels to the Conqueror's fleet, and Wace places him on the Roll of the Norman Chiefs at Hastings; but both William de Porton and Ordericus state that he remained in Normandy, as President of the Council appointed by the Duke to assist the Duchess in the government, sending his young son Robert to win his spurs at Senlac (vol. i, p. 145). And the *Dictionary of National Biography*, under the head of "Robert de Beaumont," follows the Duchess's account, and states that Roger de Beaumont remained in Normandy, and sent his sons with William; and of these Robert fought at Senlac, though confused with his father by Wace.

² Ordericus Vitalis, Bk. xi, c. 2.

³ Vol. i, p. 23 (n.).

brought up, as if they were his own children, Waleran and Robert, the twin sons of Robert, Comte de Meulan, from the time of their father's death ; for the King loved him much, because, in the beginning of his reign, he had greatly aided and encouraged him. These two young men, on arriving at the proper age, received knighthood at the King's hands ; and Robert, who was known as Robert Bossu, received the earldom of Leicester in England.

He took an active part in advancing Stephen's claim to the Crown, and is spoken of as famous for wisdom, piety, and learning. King Stephen, in A.D. 1139, made him Earl of Hereford, in addition to the earldom of Leicester ; but this latter title did not survive to his heirs. He married Amicia, the great-grand-daughter of William Fitz-Osborne, the first Earl of Hereford after the Conquest.¹

On the accession to the throne of England of Henry II, or not long afterwards, Robert de Bossu was appointed by that King his High Justiciary and President of the Court of Exchequer. The former of these offices was the highest in the realm, and must not be confounded with that of Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench. The holder of this office was, in fact, the *alter ego* of the King when he was absent from the kingdom. The office is the same as is mentioned in the Seventh "Constitutional" of Clarendon, providing that abbots and others who held of the King should not be put under excommunication or interdict, unless the King should have been previously resorted to for redress, or his Justice, if the King were out of the realm.²

¹ Nichols's *History of Leicester*, vol. i, p. 29.

² Henry III's attempt to render this office subservient to the arbitrary and corrupt practices of the Crown was one of the grievances of the Barons, who insisted that the appointment should be by the King with the assent of the Common Council of the realm. Henry yielded, and from that time nothing more was heard of a High Justiciar of England (Nichols, *vid. sup.*, vol. i, p. 32). Subsequently, when the King left England temporarily, he appointed a substitute under the title of *Custos Regni*, or *Custos Angliæ*, *Ex. gr.* 18 Richard II. Edmund, Duke of York, was *Custos Regni* when the King went to Ireland ; and in 7 Henry V, the patent appointing the Earl of Ormond

In the capacity of Justiciary, Robert Bossu was present in 1162, at the final arrangements between the Church of Lincoln and the Monastery of St. Albans. And again, in 1165, when Reginald, Archbishop of Cologne, came to Westminster for the marriage of the Princess Matilda to Henry, Duke of Saxony, and the King and his Council were ready to receive him, the Earl of Leicester refused to accept his kiss of salutation, because the Archbishop stood excommunicated by Pope Alexander, whom England had recognised as lawful Pope.¹ He appears to have held this office until his death. Hovenden, in recording the events of the year 1168, says: "In the same year died Robert, Earl of Leicester, Justiciary of England."²

This Robert de Bossu, Earl of Leicester and Hereford, Chief Justiciary of the Realm and President of the Court of Exchequer, was the founder of St. Mary de Pratis Abbey, at Leicester.

It came into being in the following manner: When Robert, Count de Mellent, the father of Robert Bossu, came to England, and Henry I bestowed upon him the earldom of Leicester, he rebuilt the Church of St. Marie *infra et juxta Castellum*, which had been destroyed in the time of the Conqueror, and placed in it twelve secular canons and a dean, to whom he gave all the churches in Leicester except St. Margaret's, which was a prebend of Lincoln, and endowed them with other lands and possessions. Robert, Earl of Leicester, the father, died A.D. 1118, and Robert Bossu succeeded to the earldom of Leicester, with its revenues. In the year of grace 1143 he, with the consent of Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, founded the Monastery of the Blessed Mary de Pratis of Leicester, and gave to them the church of St. Mary *infra Castellum*, and all the church's lands and possessions of the canons secular, with many others which he transferred to regular canons. And he in the same monastery, with the consent of Amicia his wife, was made

Viceroy of Ireland for two years is tested by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, *Custos Angliæ* (see Prynne's *Animadversions* for other instances: 14 Edward III and 21 Edward III).

¹ Matth. Paris, *Hist. Maj.*, vol. ii, p. 219, Rolls Ed. (Luard).

² Vol. i, p. 212, Giles Transl.

a canon regular ; and so remained, as Knighton tells us, for fifteen years, and died in the Abbey, and was buried on the south side of the choir of the Abbey Church, Anno Gratiae 1167, though some place his death in 1168 and others in 1169.

He founded several other monasteries, among which was that of Eaton, into which Amicia his wife, with the assent of her husband, entered as a nun for the residue of her life. As Knighton says in his Chronicle,¹ “unde ipse factus est canonicus regularis, et illa sanctimonialis.” From these events the convent was known as Nuneaton. The Countess Amicia died on September 1st (St. Giles’s Day)—the exact year is not known—and was there buried.

Sir William Dugdale suggests a doubt as to the Earl having entered the monastery—Mr. Nichols says “very properly.” “We have shown,” he says, “that he was busily engaged in secular employments ; and the fact is that, after having been the founder of that Abbey, his name was of course enrolled in that Fraternity, as was the custom of the times, that he might have the more immediate benefit of all the devout suffrages, fastings and alms, of the members of that religious society.” It is also observable that, as he was in the exercise of his active functions as High Justiciar and President of the Court of Exchequer in the years 1162-1165, and died at the latest in the year 1169, there would have been no time for him to have completed fifteen years of retirement in the cloister. To do so, he must have entered in the year 1154, the first of Henry II’s reign, and thus we should have to ignore the whole of his official position, and the events of 1162-1165.

In the *Battle Abbey Roll*, the Duchess of Cleveland, speaking of Robert Bossu having founded the Abbey of Leicester, says : “He himself wore the habit of a Canon Regular of Leicester Abbey for fifteen years before his death in 1167 ; though, as he continued in secular employments and was Justiciary at the same time, the strict observance of the rule of the cloister must in his

¹ No. XVII, *Ex. Chron. MS.* Hen. Knighton in *Bibl. Cotton.* lib. ii, cap. 2.

case have been dispensed with.¹ This seems a fair way of harmonising the conflicting statements on this question. She describes him as a powerful and crafty chief, of whom it may be affirmed that his policy was as crooked as his back. This is the only (and not a very kindly) allusion I have met with to his infirmity, which does not seem to have interfered with his physical or mental vigour. Dr. Staveley, whose "History of Leicester Abbey" Mr. Nichols has inserted *verbatim* as a preface to his history of the Abbey, gives as a motive for the foundation of the Abbey: that the Earl, having been very stubborn and undutiful to his prince, and a great stickler in some dangerous commotions, when growing in years, meditated the expiation of such crimes, particularly the injuries he had brought upon Leicester, by founding and endowing of this and some other religious houses. Nichols describes Robert de Bossu as famous for wisdom, piety, and learning, and I cannot find anything in opposition to this character. It may be that Dr. Staveley is confusing Robert Bossu with his son Robert Blanchemains, who succeeded his father in the earldom of Leicester, but not in that of Hereford, and who espoused the cause of Henry II's son against his father, and was several times taken prisoner, with his wife Petronilla, during the wars which were waged between the father and the son.

In the edition of *Camden's Britannia*, by Gough,¹ it is said that, "on the transfer of the revenues of St. Mary de Castro to St. Mary de Pratis, Robert Bossu, that he might not totally seem to destroy his father's foundation, with the consent of Richard, the first Abbot,² placed eight canons in the church of St. Mary de Castro, whereof one was dean, and endowed these churches with the oblations, etc. These continued till the general dissolution, and there still remained in the vestry a chest called an "Ark," in which there is a convenience for hanging their several vestments."

The Abbey being thus founded and endowed, soon obtained a large accession of lands and possessions.

The charters of foundation and endowment are set

¹ Vol. i, p. 148.

² Vol. ii, pp. 202-3 [1789].

forth *verbatim* in Dugdale's *Monasticon*. They are all, with one exception, without dates, and are taken from the *Cottonian* and *Bodleian MSS*. The earliest of these, after the charter of foundation, is one of King Stephen,¹ by which he granted to Robert, Earl of Leicester, to found a church of St. Mary, etc., and there to constitute an Abbey, etc. And he granted to God and the Blessed Mary, and Richard, Abbot, and the regular canons, all gifts which Robert, Earl of Leicester, gave, granted, acquired, or should acquire, or which should be given to them in frankalmoign.

Amicia, the Countess of Leicester, gave four libratas of land in Everlas.

In 1148 the Abbot and Convent obtained several material privileges from Pope Eugenius III, which were confirmed by succeeding Pontiffs.²

After the death of Robert Bossu, his son Robert Blanchmains confirmed to the Abbey all that his father had given in the original charter of foundation, and in addition a stag every year on the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary, and another stag on the Nativity of our Lord; and license to fish in his great fish-pond at Groby four days in the year, *scil.*: the Vigil of the festivals of the Purification, the Annunciation, and Nativity; and Henry II confirmed the previous grants by his charter, which is shown by an *Inspeximus* of 10 Edward III.³ This charter was granted to the canons regular and the church of St. Mary de Pratis, Leicestriæ.

There is also a charter of confirmation by Robert, son of Petronilla (wife of Robert Blanchmains) of all gifts of his grandfather and father;⁴ and another by the Countess Petronilla, confirming all gifts which Robert the Earl, her son, gave to the Abbey. Nichols says⁵ that this lady built a fair church to the Abbey, which was dedicated in the year 1279, and that she was buried

¹ *Ex Registro Abbatiæ in Bibl. Bodl.* fo. 22.

² Dugd., *Monast.*

³ Cart. 10 Edward III, m. 2 n. 1 per *Inspex. Vid. Etiam Cart.*
2 Edward II, n. 10.

⁴ *Ex. Bodl.*

⁵ *History of Leicestershire*, vol. i, Pt. II, p. 254.

in the choir thereof before the high altar ; but in a note he says Leland notices no more than one tomb in Leicester Abbey, and seems to have been uncertain whether it were this lady's or the tomb of the founder ; he says . " Other [either] Robert Bossu, Earl of Leicester, or Petronilla, a Countess of Leicester, was buried in a ' tombe ex marmore chalchedonico ' in the wall of the south of the high altar of St. Marie Abbey of Leycester."¹ Nichols says : " It is memorab'e also of this lady that, in a devotional fit, she made a long rope or plait of her own hair, to be used with a pulley to draw up the great lamp in the choir, which was afterwards kept there for a long time as a precious relic." The dubious manner in which Leland speaks of this lady's tomb, and also the doubt thrown on the date of her death, may be prudently left as they stand. Petronilla's husband, Robert de Blanchmains, died 1190 ; and if she built the Abbey Church, which was dedicated in A.D. 1279, and was buried there, she must have sufficiently exceeded the then average rate of mortality to have deserved a special notice from cotemporary chroniclers.

Henry II granted and confirmed whatever Robert, Earl of Leicester, gave them, and whatever had been given or should be given ; and in the sixth year of his reign King John gave the Abbey a charter of confirmation, " Dat per manum I de Well apud Wigorn XXIIII die Marcii anno, etc., VI."

This Abbey, having been founded by a subject, was not held of the King in capite per baroniam, and consequently the Abbot was not legally capable to be summoned to Parliament. Notwithstanding this, there are several instances amongst the records of the Abbots being summoned by writ, but on petition they were discharged, and eventually, in 26 Edward III, the King, on the petition and agency of William le Chowne, an eminent Abbot of the Abbey, granted that the Abbot and his successors should for ever after be eased and discharged, of their attendance in Parliament ; for which, says Staveley, the said William Chowne is celebrated

¹ *Lel., Itin.*

as a great benefactor to his house; and after he had most commendably governed it thirty-three years, he died XI Kal. Feb., 1377.

Other Abbots of note have been of this house, amongst whom Gilbert Folliott is very memorable; and in this (says Staveley) Bale has discovered an error of Matthew of Westminster, who says he was Abbot of Gloucester.¹

Henry de Knighton, so-called because born at Knighton, a neighbouring town, was a canon in this house in the reigns of Edward III, Richard II, and Henry IV: Mr. Burton mistaking when he said he was Abbot there.² His Chronicles, covering the period from the earliest Saxon kings to the deposition of Richard II, now form part of the Cottonian Collection of MSS. at the British Museum.

Several kings have been here entertained and lodged in their journeys to and from the North; particularly, a great entertainment and lodging was once given to King Richard II and his Queen, with their retinue.³ It is also well known that in this Abbey died Cardinal Wolsey, on his way to the Tower after his fall, and that he was there buried; in the words which Shakespeare used in pronouncing his *requiescat in pace*, "then, and not till then, he felt himself and found the blessedness of being little."

It may be curious, says Dugdale,³ to notice that in one of the MSS. in the British Museum, formerly Dr. Chas. Burney's No. 357, are, "Versus Sygerii Lucani in sanctorum laudem monachorum," at the end of which it is said: "Robert Comes Leicestriæ solebat hos versus memoritur recitare." The verses and the remarks are in a hand certainly not later than the twelfth or thirteenth century.

The first Abbot was Richard, of whom mention has been made before, and who was elected in 1144. John Bouchier occurs in 1534 on August 11th, in which year he, with certain members of his convent, subscribed to the King's supremacy. He surrendered his office in 1539. Nichols says he was one of the latest surviving

¹ Nichols' *Leicester*, vol. i, p. 225.

² *Id.*, 256.

³ *Monasticon*.

Abbots, having received a general pardon from the King as late as the month of August, 1534.¹

	£	s.	d.
The revenues at the Dissolution were valued at ...	1062	0	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Deduction	110	5	11
	£951	14	5 $\frac{1}{2}$

The site of the Abbey was granted in the 4 Edward VI to William, Marquis of Northampton;² it now belongs to the Earl of Dysart, and is let by him to a tenant, who has a modern residence within the walls near the entrance, and cultivates the ground as a fruit and flower garden. Parts of the old buildings are retained in the modern outbuildings. The outer wall of the Abbey remains in good preservation, owing to its repair from time to time which, though it will not deceive the expert's eye, may yet in some parts puzzle the less experienced observer. The courtyard through which the Abbey is entered remains surrounded by walls, and the gateway into the Abbey exists, and is pointed out as that through which Cardinal Wolsey entered on his last journey. Over this gateway there are remains of some buildings of the Tudor period. There is no trace of the Abbey Church visible, or of any of the conventual buildings except those already noticed. Should, however, excavations on a thorough and judicious plan be undertaken, we cannot doubt that very valuable and interesting discoveries would be brought to light.

¹ Nichols' *Hist.*, vol ii, Pt. II, p. 275 ; Dugd., *Monast.*, by Caley, etc., vol. vi, p. 462 *et seq.*

² Dugdale, *ubi sup.*





TWO NORFOLK VILLAGES.

BY THE REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A.



IN a country like ours, with a history extending over two thousand years, and with a prehistoric period reaching back to the dim and distant past, there is no village, however seemingly prosaic to-day, that has not its story of romantic interest for the intelligent investigator.

This is strikingly illustrated by the two villages, East and West Rudham, of which I am, within the limits of a Paper, to endeavour to unfold the tale.

Situated on the main road running from Lynn to Fakenham, at a distance of 16 miles from the former and 7 miles from the latter town, at the head-waters of the river Wensum, which rises here, in a gently undulating district, with a range of low hills to the north, Rudham lies in the heart of an Anglian locality. It is surrounded by places having names that tell of Anglian settlement, the *ingtons* and *ingham*s so dear to speculative historians—as Hillington, Massingham, Dersingham, Sandringham, etc. I need not say that I am not convinced by Mr. Walter Rye's very ingenious attempt to prove from these and other place-names in East Anglia a *pre-Roman* Danish, or Scandinavian occupation of the district.

I rather agree with Mr. J. Horace Round whose able and learned Paper in *The Commune of London* has, in my opinion settled the point, viz., that the ending "ham" is *older* than "ton;" that the people who settled the "hams" came in boats up the rivers, and that "ingham" and "ington" denote an Anglian and *not* a Saxon settlement (*The Commune of London*, pp. 4, 8, 16).

Of Rudham in prehistoric times there is unmistakeable

evidence. Numerous Celts of Neolithic workmanship have been found in gravel pits within the limits of the parishes, but all except one are unfortunately lost.¹ The Neolithic population of this neighbourhood must have been numerous, and had arrived at a superior stage of culture. Their remains abound in the district.

There are no actual traces of the Roman occupation, though the tramp of the Roman "legions," as they passed from camp to camp, must often have been heard in its neighbourhood, for it lies in the direct line of march between the two great camps of Castleacre and Brancaster (the Roman Branodunum, the headquarters of the Counts of the Saxon Shore), and the ancient trackway known as the "Peddar's Way,"² no doubt an Icenian highway, before the Romans utilised it for military purposes, skirts its borders. Indeed, a watch-tower, long known as Roman and said to contain undoubted remains of Roman brickwork, existed not long ago within the limits of East Rudham; but unfortunately it was pulled down, and every vestige of it has vanished.

It is said that a little pot containing a number of Roman coins was found in the ruins of Coxford Priory in the year 1719, but pot and coins alike have been lost.

From the day when the Romans departed, through all the sanguinary struggles that accompanied the founding of the heathen kingdom of the East Angles; through the period of the introduction of Christianity, and its estab-

¹ This one I exhibited. It is remarkably fine and of beautiful finish and polish. It is from the collection of Dr. Manby, of East Rudham.

² The Peddar's Way runs down to the coast between *Brancaster* and *Hunstanton*, and gets lost beyond *Castleacre* at the other end; but there is no doubt that it ran, in Roman days, on to *Brandon*, thus connecting the two *Branodunums*. We would call attention to this name, which in the latter case is pure Celtic, in the former, united to *Castra*. *Bran* in Welsh means *Crow* or *Raven*, and is connected with the name of the Celtic chieftain *Brennus*. *Branodunum* is "the town and camp of *Brennus*," whose tribal totem was a crow or raven—cf. the name "Castel Dinas y Bran" at *Llangollen* in North Wales.—*Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. xxxiv, p. 97.

An ancient grass-grown British trackway also runs between *Raynham* and *Creake* to *Brancaster*, skirting *Rudham* and passing an ancient earthwork at *South Creake*, known locally as the "*Burh Dike*," and marked on the Ordnance Map as a Danish Encampment.

lishment under good Bishop Felix and his successors, supported as they were by the pious efforts of King Anna and his saintly daughters, Sexburga, Etheldreda, Ethelberga, Witberga, and Hilda;¹ through all the wars between Anglian and Dane, down to the period of the "Survey" after the Norman Conquest, the history of Rudham is a blank. Some, indeed, would find in its name a hint of its early devotion to the Christian faith, or try to see in it a place consecrated by some holy shrine—Rudham: Rud being connected with *rood*, the Cross, thus making it "the Hamlet of the Cross;" but this is pure conjecture, and, indeed, as in other cases, the place-name is most probably derived from the first Anglian settlers who took up their dwelling here.

At the time of the "Survey," Rudham, not yet divided into East and West, belonged to William, Earl Warrenne, to whom vast possessions in these parts had been assigned by the Conqueror; and who had his headquarters in the mighty keep which he erected within the bounds of the Roman fortified camp at Castleacre.²

We will deal first with the fortunes of East Rudham, including Coxford Priory. This portion belonged at the Conquest, so *Domesday* informs us, to Toka, a Saxon Thane, who had in the reign of the Confessor, six vills, sixteen borderers, and three servi, with six carucates; now (the "Survey"), one carucate and three acres of meadow land belonging to his tenants, two mills, one salt work, two churches endowed with sixty acres, fourteen breeding mares, and four hundred sheep, etc., that pastured in the woods. It extended into many of the neighbouring villages, valued in the whole at £8 in King Edward's

¹ Sexburga married Erconbert, King of Kent; retired to a convent at Sheppey, but later joined her sister Etheldreda, foundress of Ely Monastery. Ethelberga, Abbess of Brie. Witberga lived as a saint at East Dereham. Hilda, foundress and Abbess of Whitby.

² Earl Warrenne and his wife Gundrada, formerly said to be a daughter of William the Conqueror, but who is almost conclusively proved by recent research to have been a daughter of Matilda, the Conqueror's wife, by Grebod, a former husband, or connection, was also the founder of the Cluniac Priory of Castleacre, as a cell to the great monastery at Lewes in Sussex. The remains of this splendid house awaken wonder and admiration to-day.

time, and £10 at the "Survey;" all Rudham being 3 miles long by 3 broad (about the limits of the present parishes), and paid 4s. 3d. gelt.

This lordship was held under Earl Warrenne by Ralph, the ancestor of the family of De Querceto, De Caineto, or De Cheyny;¹ one of whom, John, was the founder of Coxford Priory, of which more anon.

John de Cheyny's daughter and heiress, Emma, brought it by marriage to Michael Belet, about the year 1150. These Belets were a family of great honour and wealth: a Hervey Belet lived in the reign of King Henry I, and was father of Michael Belet, who served under Earl Warrenne, and acted as cup-bearer to King Henry II at the coronation of Eleanor, his wife. This Michael had two sons, Michael and Hervey, by Emma de Cheyny; of whom Michael became a judge and high sheriff of Leicestershire, and in 1206 had a grant to himself and his heirs of being King John's butler. He does not appear, however, to have had any heirs, for in 1215—the year of Magna Charta—his brother Hervey was lord, and had a grant of a fair, to be held yearly on the feast of St. Matthew, which fair was only discontinued some twenty-four years ago. It was this Hervey Belet who gave the lordship of East Rudham to Coxford Priory.

We must now go back a little. It will be remembered that Toka possessed two churches; of these Saxon churches, which were probably of wood, not a trace remains. In the reign of King Stephen (1135-1154), William Cheney founded in the Church of St. Mary of Rudham a Priory. The dedication remains, but of this Norman church, as of the Saxon, there is no vestige.

The situation of this Priory was evidently found inconvenient, for between the years 1146 and 1149 it was removed about a mile eastward, and practically re-founded by John de Cheyney, at Coxford, on the banks of the Coke, now called the Tatter, in the midst of a rich alluvial pasture-land. This John de Cheyney is spoken of indifferently as a great benefactor, or as the founder, of the

¹ The name was still to be heard in the village within quite recent years. Cheyney Lane was the traditional name of the road now more prosaically called Station Road.

Priory for monks belonging to the Order of Austin Friars, or Black Canons, then recently introduced into England by William de Corbeil. The charter of foundation mentions among the numerous possessions¹ with which John de Cheyney enriched the Priory, "the two Churches of that town, with their appurtenances, and all the lay land which *Bruno and William the priests* held." This is the first mention of priests of the two Rudhams, but of Rudham as a whole we have mention of a previous *William*, in the reign of King William Rufus, in a charter in which it is stated that the land which he held of Lambert de Rosci, was confirmed to him by Earl Warrenne. Thus, by means of the notices of the churches and the priests, we can trace an unbroken succession of Christian ministrations in Rudham for more than eight hundred years. One of the witnesses also to John de Cheyney's charter was Jeffrey de West Rudham; another is Wache, called the deacon.²

In 1215, Hervey Belet, of whom mention has been already made, gave to the Prior of Coxford Abbey the lordship of East Rudham, with lands in many neighbouring villages, "for the maintenance of a hospital at *Boycodeswade*,³ built by him, and a secular chaplain to serve therein for ever, for his own soul, that of the lady Emma de Kayneto, his mother, and for the souls of his brothers, ancestors and parents, in pure alms." This grant was

¹ Among the lands specified, mention is made of gardens belonging to *Wilmot* (Blomfield's translation: The Charter reads: "*Wlmote* ;") this is interesting, if correct: there are Wilmots still residing in the parish. We may also notice in this charter the custom of giving the serfs and their families with the land, *e.g.*, "Ralph, son of Wlmar, and all his land, and Burstan and his land . . . and Godwin the writer, and all his land, and the mill . . . and the two men living near the said mill." This is not uncommon, but throws a curious light on feudal customs.

² See Appendix I A.

³ *Boycodeswade* = "Wood," or "House in the Woods," and is Norman French, Welsh, and Saxon, *i.e.* :—

Bois = Wood, Norman French.

Coed = „ Welsh

Wade = „ Saxon

cf. Carisbroke Castle—in which each member of the word means "Castle"—"Caris" = "Caer," Welsh, and "broke" = "broch," Pictish.

for a warden and thirteen poor people, to be under the government of the Prior and Convent of Coxford, and was dedicated to St. Andrew.

In 1226, the Prior had a grant of a fair, on the feast of St. Thomas the Martyr (of Canterbury), which was confirmed in 1250, and continued to be held till quite recent times.¹

Of the further fortunes of the Abbey it is not my purpose to speak. Two interesting notices of events in its history before the Dissolution will suffice. In 1281, the Prior and Canons were visited by Archbishop Peckham, in the course of his tour round the religious houses of Norfolk. They seem, as Dr. Jessop says, to have been living a pleasant, jovial sort of life, doing no particular harm, but doing no good. The Prior, probably Hugh de Elmham, was old and easy-going, kept no accounts, but let his Canons do as they pleased; and liked going out with a number of dogs at his heels. Moreover, Prior and Canons, one and all, had been led astray by an evil-disposed person, John of Hunstanton, who had actually tempted them all to give themselves up to the seductive game of chess; and this intoxication must be put a stop to, even if it came to three days and nights on bread and water. One can imagine the unhappy monks being thankful when this masterful Archbishop went on his way. That they could bestir themselves on occasion, however, is proved by an entry in the oldest register book of West Rudham, where there is mention made of the restoration of the chancel by the Prior and Canons of Coxford, in the year 1456. To this we shall refer again.

The seal of Coxford Priory, in red wax, represented the Blessed Virgin Mary, seated with the Christ-child in her arms, and on each side a monk kneeling, praying; and under an arch another monk, also praying. The inscription ran thus:—

“S. PRIORIS . ET . CONVENTUS . DE . COKESFORD.”

¹ Of the temporalities we read:—

Prior de Cokesforth habet eam in proprios usus. *Estimatio Rectoris* xx marc. (xviii, *Rot. N.*) *Estimatio Vicaria ejusdem* v. marc. non taxatur. Prior præcipit medietatem obventionum. *Procuratio, constitutio, et Synodalia* xxiid. *Denarii S. Petri* xviiiid.—*Tanner's MSS.*

In 1428, their temporalities were valued at £222 12s. 8d., and their establishment consisted of a Prior and nine Black Canons. At the Dissolution it was only valued at from £121 to £153, which shows how low the visitors laid it.¹ King Henry VIII, in 1537, gave the manor of East Rudham, with impropriate rectory and patronage of the vicarage to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk; from which family it passed, in 1578, to Sir Roger Townshend; and in this family, represented by the present Marquis Townshend, it still remains.² So passed away the possibilities for good or evil of Coxford Abbey, as of many another religious house; and with it vanished the Hospital of St. Andrew at Loycodeswade, in which the secular chaplain was to serve for ever, merged in the wide demesnes of the Townshends; whom the fate, which fell upon the Duke of Norfolk, its first possessor, and which, as Sir Henry Spelman testifies in his book on *Sacrilege*, sooner or later befalls the lay possessors of Church property, seems still, in lesser degree, to attend. More harm, indeed, was done to the country by the spoliation of the hospitals, and of the guilds and chantries, and the consequent diversion of money intended by the pious benefactors for the benefit of the destitute poor "for ever," than even by the dissolution of the monasteries. By *that* act the poor were really the greatest sufferers; but it was these *three* spoliations combined that made the Poor Law of Elizabeth necessary: such a means of providing for the indigent never having been previously required.

The Abbey is now a farm; of the usual buildings the foundations may be traced.³ The church, which must

¹ This, however, is equal, according to Dr. Jessopp, to some £10,000 or £12,000 to-day, but more probably to at least £2,500 to £3,000.

² The Townshends had long been Lords of Raynham, and no doubt wished to consolidate their possessions in this neighbourhood.

³ Shortly after the Dissolution, the Abbey was inhabited by a family of the name of Calibut, who had been settled in Norfolk for a long period, and first rose to importance through the success of one of its members at the Bar. "William Calibut, of Coxford Abbey, gent.," was a man of wealth and substance *temp.* Queen Elizabeth, and married his daughters to John Walpole, of Houghton, Henry Russell, of West Rudham, and other leading families.—*One Generation of a Norfolk House*, by Dr. Jessopp.

have been a fine one in the Decorated and Perpendicular styles, was still standing, as Sir H. Spelman tells us, in the time of James I, but is now a hopeless mass of ruins.¹ It consisted of a nave of four bays, transepts and chancel, with two transeptal chapels, north and south.

The nave was 90 ft. long, the intersection of nave, chancel, and transept, 21 ft., and the chancel 75 ft. ; the nave and chancel were each 21 ft. broad.

The only considerable piece of masoury still standing is the northern intersection of nave and chancel, where a



Coxford Priory, Norfolk, 1885.

very fine Decorated archway has been filled in, and a Perpendicular window inserted, as may be seen in the illustration here given.

The fish-ponds, three in number, still remain, as perfect as on the day when the monks, breviary in hand, bade them a last farewell. These are at Broomsthorpe.

¹ The church was pulled down by Sir Roger Townshend (*temp.* Jas. I), as he wished to use the materials for his new house at Raynham. In this, however, he was frustrated by a variety of untoward occurrences, and thereupon used them to build the rectory, which was permitted by the higher powers. See the curious account in *The History and Fate of Sacrilege*, by Sir H. Spelman, under "Coxford Abbey."

Of the Hospital, not the slightest vestige remains. Its site is unknown, and the very name of Boycodeswade has been lost, even from the usually keen memory of popular tradition.

The present Church of St. Mary, East Rudham, is but the simulacrum of its former self. It had been repaired in 1820, and again in 1860, when the old square pews, the west gallery containing the organ, the north gallery where the servants sat, and the "three-decker," were all done away with; but in 1876 the north-west corner of the tower fell out, destroying with it a considerable part of the nave, and the whole fabric was in consequence

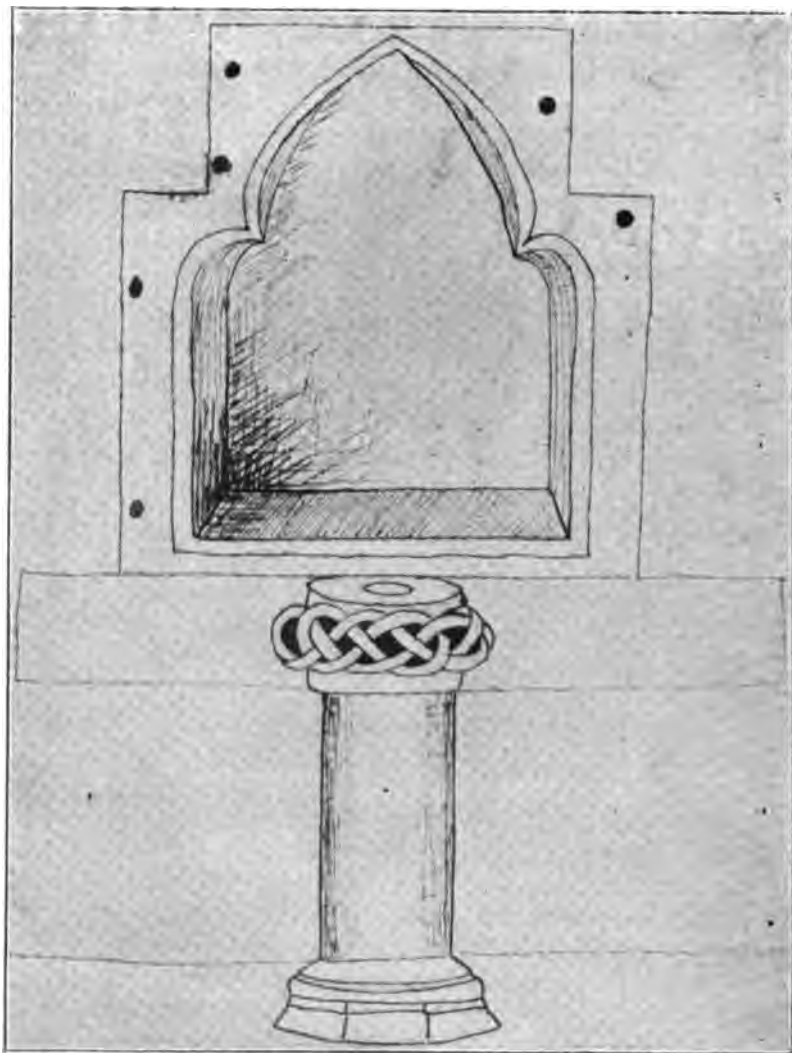


East Rudham Church: from the south-east.

almost entirely rebuilt. It was a bad time for restorations, and we must be thankful that the building is still able to tell something of its history. The Saxon and Norman Churches have, as I said, entirely disappeared.

The present church consists of western embattled tower, nave, north and south aisles, south porch, south transept, and chancel. The earliest part is in the chancel, where four beautiful Early English windows are to be seen, two in the north wall and two in the south wall: the western one in the south wall is over the priests' door. The east window is a modern reproduction in the Decorated style; while just east of the south pillar of the chancel arch in the south wall there is a Perpendicular window,

said to have been brought from Coxford Priory. In the usual position, on the south side of the sacrarium, there is a very beautiful pillar piscina, with interlacing



Pillar Piscina and Aumbry at East Rudham.

ornamentation on the capital, which almost looks like a copy of Saxon work. Above the piscina in the thick-

ness of the wall is an aumbry, with the holes into which the door was hinged and bolted still remaining. To the immediate west of this, in the position commonly occupied by the sedilia, is a curious round arch, almost Norman, springing directly from the floor, and looking as if some monument must once have been there. Could this have been an Easter sepulchre? I know that these were placed in almost every instance on the north side of the altar; but is it an absolute rule? Still, if this were an Easter sepulchre, I believe it would be a nearly unique exception.

During the restoration of the church, a recess was found at the east end of the chancel about 4 ft. square, containing the remains of an oak chest.

Numerous fragments of the ancient church, including two fine Perpendicular windows with tracery almost complete, are now in the garden of Dr. Manby, of East Rudham, one of which was abolished, and the place of the other taken by a modern one at the west end. There was once a rood-screen which has long since disappeared, and on the north side a small stone figure sitting, said to represent King David with a scroll, and above it a crowned head, which used to be known as King John. This was in its place at the time of the 1820 restoration, but was then removed, and is now in Dr. Manby's garden.

The nave and aisles are modern Perpendicular, and deserve no notice, though the windows of both the aisles and of the clerestory contain good tracery, copied, I believe, from the old. The pillars are all alike, plain and ugly. The old ones were all dissimilar on the south side, all alike on the north; all had candlestick pediments, as the original church had no foundation, water being found very near the surface. Even now, in the churchyard, graves 6 ft. deep have water in them, especially after rain.

It may be noted that all the aisle windows were also dissimilar, and earlier than those in the nave.

The south transept contains a piscina with ogee arch, and a low-side window, which proves that it was almost certainly a chantry or guild chapel, but of this there is no record. There was the guild of St. Radegunda at Coxford, with a chapel of that name, in 1466, within the

Priory, and a lady anchoress there in 1526 ; but probably there was no connection between the two. Half-way between Rudham and Coxford there is a group of cottages standing on a site still known as *the Upper Anchorage* ; this was probably the cell of an anchorite or anchoress. Tradition is seldom wrong as to sites, where it becomes a place-name. There is a group of cottages known as the "lower anchorage" at Coxford, and this was, no doubt, St. Radegunda's. The south window of this transept is very fine Early Decorated, with unusual tracery, and the two windows on the east are three-light lanceolate, with three lozenges at the apex, telling of the transition from Early English to Decorated. In the west wall there is a circular or rose window, known as *Mordaunt's window*, and said to have been given by Sir Aylmer de Mordaunt after preservation from a tempest on his return from the Holy Land. His arms were also in the fine south window (*Tanner's MSS.*).

The south porch contains a very fine groined roof with Tudor roses at the intersections, and a beautiful central boss, representing the Holy Trinity. The Divine Father is portrayed supporting between his knees the Divine Son on the Cross, the arms of which are upheld by his hands. The figure of the Holy Spirit, as a Dove, has been chipped off, but otherwise the boss is well preserved.¹

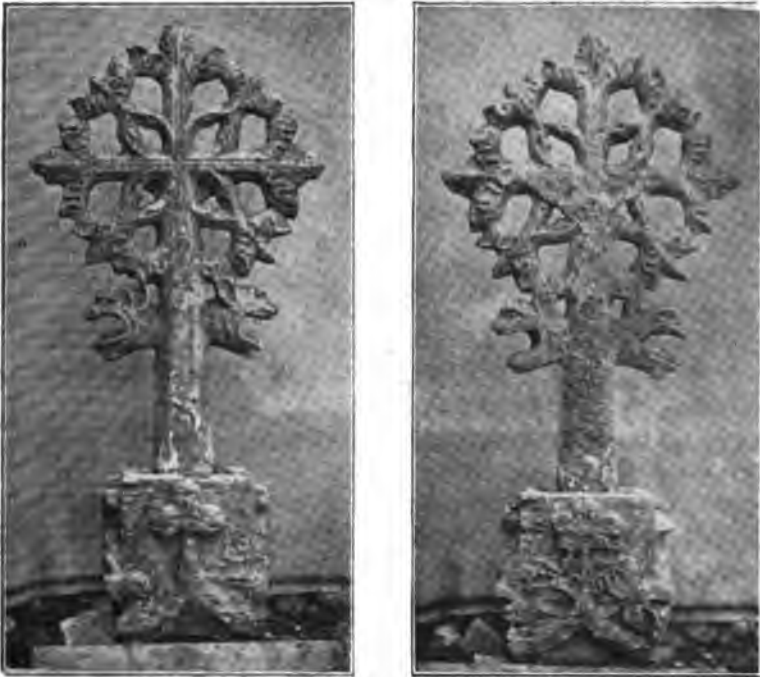
There is a similar Trinità over the west doorway of Peterborough Cathedral, in which, however, the Father has his right hand uplifted in blessing. They are not uncommon, but we may be thankful this one has escaped both Protestant and Puritan fanatics.

The label over the south door terminates in the heads of King Henry VI and his Queen, Margaret of Anjou. The King is on the west side, crowned ; the Queen on the east, in a flowing wimple of the fifteenth century.

¹ The present porch is quite modern, but the groined roof is original, though many of the bosses, representing the Tudor rose, are modern. The ancient porch contained stone seats ; and over the one on the east side was fixed in the wall an alabaster panel, representing the coronation of the Virgin, very much defaced. Over the porch was a parvise chamber, which was used as a school-room during the last century : the door leading to it may still be seen in the nave wall of the church. See Plate I.

Over the entrance to the south porch, in the angle formed by the roof, there is a fine recessed canopy, for the figure of St. Mary, which, however, is a modern reproduction of the old work.

On the southern apex of the roof of the south transept is a most beautiful fourteenth-century floriated cross, which I consider the best thing we have in East Rudham Church. It is evidently too large and massive for its



Fourteenth-Century Floriated Cross, East Rudham.

present position, and much weather-worn. The figure of the Saviour may still be traced on one face; and attention may be drawn to the curious demon-heads, with wide open mouths, on each side, as though being crushed, and crying out in their agony. From the size and beauty of this cross it has been conjectured that it may really be the village cross, and mark Rudham as a station or halting-place for pilgrims on the way from Lynn to Our Lady of Walsingham.

We must now mention a most interesting discovery made at the restoration in 1876, and re-discovered by me, after twenty years' neglect, in 1896.

This consisted of numerous fragments, more or less complete, of carved figures and subjects in alabaster, with a considerable amount of the original colouring still remaining. They were found, with one exception, in a square opening in the north wall of the sacrarium, on a level with the floor, which they filled up, and which had then been cased over. My friend, Mr. Patrick, A.R.I.B.A., and I have arranged the pieces in order as nearly as possible, and our conclusion is that they were portions of a highly-ornamented reredos of rich fifteenth-century workmanship, with possibly some fragments of another composition, perhaps an altar frontal.

The illustrations, done by Mr. Patrick, give a very faithful idea of the fragments in their present condition.

(1) An almost complete panel, but much battered, representing the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. This had been built, as already stated, into the east side of the south porch, above the seat.

(2) Five fragments, evidently forming part of the central panel, and representing the Crucifixion of Our Lord. On the right hand, a kneeling female figure, symbolical of the Church, uplifting a chalice, in which she is catching the sacred drops from the Saviour's side. On the left hand, the lower part of a Roman soldier (probably the centurion), grasping a spear. Traces of colour are still perceptible on many of the fragments, but more remain upon the pieces forming this subject. The limbs of the cross are a pale blue-green, the nimbus a deep red, the face of the Saviour flesh-colour, the beard auburn, and there is some gilding on the crown. The wings of the kneeling figure are painted red, and the dress of the standing figure is also red.¹

(3) Another panel, of which the centre part is missing, representing the Entombment of Christ. The Saviour's head is perfect and very beautiful, the draperies are flowing; two figures stand at the feet. This was, perhaps, intended to fit below the previous one. The

¹ See Plate II.



PLATE I.—CENTRAL BOSS IN THE SOUTH PORCH.



PLATE II.—THE CRUCIFIXION.

Mutilated. This portion is composed of five fragments.

Height, 1 ft. 6 in.; breadth at base, 10 in.

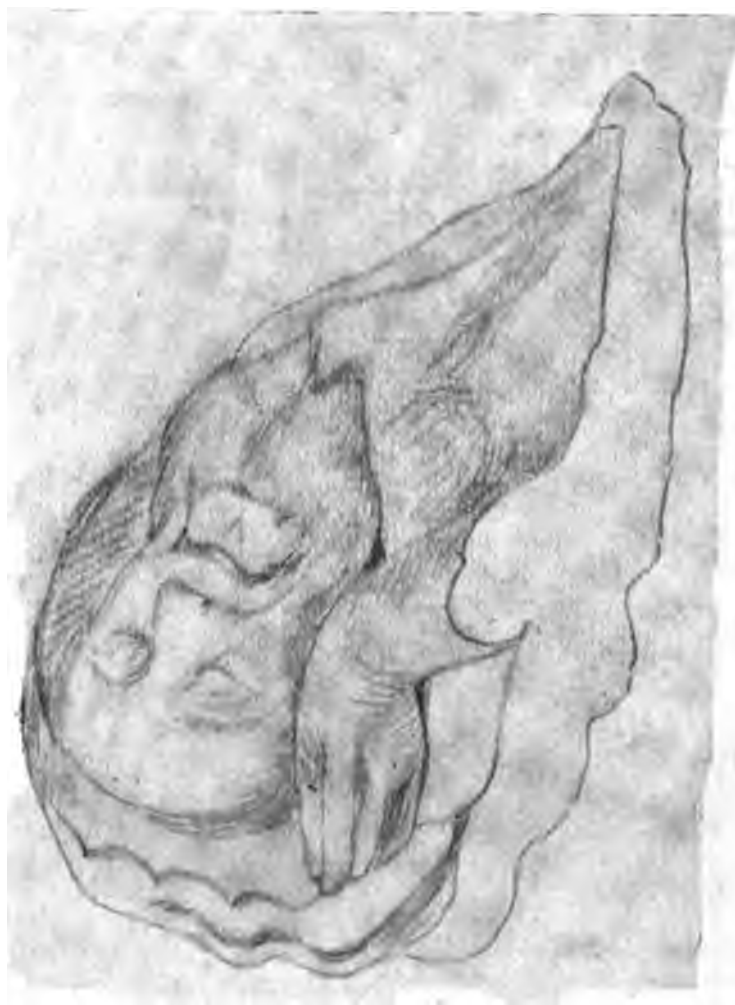


PLATE III.—FRAGMENT FROM PANEL REPRESENTING THE ENTOMBMENT OF OUR SAVIOUR.

illustration shows only the head of the Saviour. He is represented in the sleep of death, the right hand supporting the face; there are remains of colour and gilding.¹

(4) The remaining panel of this composition represented the donor, a lady in rich fifteenth-century costume, but unfortunately headless, kneeling before a *prie-dieu*. There is no record which would throw any light upon



Coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (a complete Panel).

the identity of this lady. The list of benefactors of Coxford Abbey closes in 1350, but it is possible that she may have been that Isabella Dey, of whom it is recorded that she presented a marble floor to the chancel about the year 1500, and the two gifts may have been almost contemporaneous, though these alabaster fragments

¹ See Plate III.

certainly appear to belong to a somewhat earlier date. The marble floor has long since vanished, together with the brass which commemorated this pious lady. Blomfield, however, mentions a gravestone with a brass plate, inscribed : "Orate pro aiab. Rici Dey, notarii, et Isabellae uxoris suae, qui quidem Ric. obiit 25 die Feb. AO. 1507." This, too, is gone.

Other fragments are :—

(5) A headless figure, standing in a chaldron or tripod :



St. John the Evangelist in the Boiling Oil (a fragment).

no doubt a representation of St. John the Evangelist in the boiling oil.

(6) The lower part of a draped figure, with an unmistakably horned sheep at the feet and a bell on its neck.

Some say this is a representation of St. Anthony, with a pig at his feet : but I take it to be St. Agnes.

Other portions represent two angels seated, with left hands on a globe ; and two other angels, one with a scroll, and the other holding a crowned staff.

Fragments of a similar reredos were found, some years ago, in a barn at East Barsham, and were fully described in *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. xi, Pt. 3. That may perhaps have belonged to Walsingham, and both were probably destroyed at the Reformation, with the same intemperate zeal which led Bishop Goodrich to destroy the story of the Life of the Blessed Virgin in stone upon the walls of the Lady Chapel at Ely.

The church plate consists of a pewter flagon of ancient date. The chalice is silver, of plain Elizabethan workmanship, inscribed, "THE . TOWNE . OF . EAST . ROUDHAM ✠ A° 1567." The paten, also silver, is inscribed, "The gift of Margaret Congham to the Church of East Rudham, in 1727." In the centre are the arms of the donor.

There are no monuments or inscriptions of any interest in the churchyard ; but a few feet eastward of the east wall I found a splendid stone coffin-lid lying, and doing duty as a tombstone. This, I was told, was originally discovered some 4 ft. below the soil, in the same position, when a grave was being dug, some twenty-five years ago, and was then laid on the surface.

The illustration, herewith, gives an exact representation of it, from a rubbing taken by Mr. Patrick. It is 6 ft. 2½ ins. long, and 1 ft. 9 ins. broad at the head, and 10 ins. broad at the foot, slightly raised down the middle line, which forms the shaft, uniting two wheel crosses at the head and foot. In the centre is the figure known as "the double Omega," the conventional monkish symbol of the thunderbolt of Jove ; the emblem of Divine power. There is a stone sarcophagus, without the lid, at Houghton, which was taken thither from the ruins of Coxford, and this may possibly be the lid belonging to it ; in that case it was most likely the last resting-place of one of the Priors of that Abbey. In any case, it is a grand specimen of a thirteenth-century ecclesiastical monument,

the more so that, with the exception of a small fragment chipped off the foot, it is, unlike the majority of examples, perfect.¹ There are not many similar memorials in Norfolk, but in Essex they are numerous, and a good description of these latter may be found in *Essex Archæology*, vol. vii, Pt. 4.

One coin, a silver groat of one of the Edwards, was found by one of the workmen in 1876, close to the south wall.

It remains for us to note the points of interest in West Rudham.

At the "Survey," this part of the then undivided parish was held by Lambert de Rosci under Earl Warrenne. Later on, we find that the parish consisted of three manors: (1) Ferrer's Manor. This was in the hands of the de Cheyney family, and came by the marriage of Margaret, daughter of William de Cheyney, to Hugh de Cressi, *temp.* Henry II. His son Roger married Isabel, daughter of Hubert de Rie. This Roger, having taken arms against King John with the Barons, his lands were seized, and given to Robert de Ferrers, of the great family of Ferrers, Earls of Derby. In 1287, Sir Guy de Ferrariis was living here; in 1303, Edmund de Ferrers, of West Rudham; John de Ferrers in the reign of Edward II, another of the name was here in 1357, and another held land in East Rudham in 1410.—See App. I (c). In the reign of Edward VI, this manor passed to the Russell family, said to be of the same family as the Dukes of Bedford; thence, after numerous alienations, to the Walpoles, and is now in the possession of the Marquis Cholmondeley.² There is a brass to the memory of Henry Russell, dated 1606, which runs thus:—

HENRY RUSSELL, LATE OF WEST RVD-
HAM, ESQ., DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE
3 OF SEPTEMBER 1606, IN MEMORY OF
WHOME THOMAS RVSSELL, HIS NEPHEW
HATH LEFT THIS TO POSTERITY.

¹ See Plate IV.

² In the time of Queen Elizabeth the Russells of West Rudham were "substantial Norfolk squires," and intermarried with the Walpoles of Houghton, and other leading families. William Calibut, of Coxford Abbey (d. 1577), as stated above, married one of his daughters to John

(2) Castleacre Priory Manor. This manor was held in the reign of William Rufus, of Lambert de Rosci, by *William, the priest of Rudham*. It was later on agreed by deed, *sans date*, that the small tithes of this lordship should belong to Castleacre, but the tithes of the corn, lamb's wool and cheese, should belong to Coxford, with the weif and stray, and the assize of bread and beer. Among the witnesses is Sir Henry de Ferrariis, which shows it was about the end of the reign of Henry III. In return, Robert, Prior of Castleacre, 1270, remits to William, Prior of Coxford (17 Henry III) their right in the manor of East Rudham. At the Dissolution it passed to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, and thence to the Townshends.

In the time of Richard I (1189-1199), Eustace de Cheyney, Seneschal of Acre (? Castleacre, or Acre in Palestine),¹ granted the reversion of all his lands in Rudham to the Priory of Castleacre, on condition of being admitted a monk, if he should desire it.

(3) Northall, or St. Faith's Manor.—This manor was held at the "Survey" by Peter de Valoins, *Turgis*, a freeman, having been deprived of it. He had half a carucate of land, with three bordarers and one servus, and one carucate and an acre of meadow, with four socmen and six acres, valued at 10s. From the family of Valoins it came to Lord Robert Fitzwalter (by the marriage of Gunnora, daughter and heiress of Lord Robert de Valoins, who was lord of it in the reign of King John), and he granted it to the Priory of St. Faith's, at Horsham: so says Blomfield. A deed, however, exists in the British Museum which proves that this is altogether incorrect, and that the transfer must have taken place earlier, and in quite different circumstances, for this deed is a Papal confirmation of the grant of this manor to Horsham

Walpole, of Houghton, and another, Ele, or Elizabeth, to Henry Russell, of West Rudham, whose Brass is in the church. A Captain Russell, who belonged to the West Rudham family, and was a cousin of the Walpoles, was among the English officers serving at Flushing in 1589.—*One Generation of a Norfolk House*, by Dr. Jessopp.

¹ Probably the latter, as it was the age of the Crusades, and Eustace may have been with Richard in the Holy Land; but of this I have not been able to find any record.

St. Faith's Priory, in 1163, 9 Henry II. In this deed it is stated that the land at Rudham, with all its appurtenances, had been given to Horsham St. Faith's by "Sybil, the wife of the aforesaid Robert Fitzwalter;" it having, in all probability, been her dowry. This Lady Sybil is stated, by Dugdale's authority, to have been the "sister of John de Cheyney," and "daughter of Ralph de Cheyney, who came to the conquest of England."¹ She was, therefore, aunt of John de Cheyney, who founded Coxford Priory. Horsham St. Faith's Priory was founded by Robert Fitzwalter in 1105 (Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, ed. 1695, p. 149).

In 1275 the Prior of St. Faith's had a lete; and in 1347 the Prior held half a fee of the Prior of Coxford; in 1428 their temporalities were valued at £9 18s. 10d.² Henry VIII granted it in 1544 to his trusty councillor, Sir Richard Southwell. It was afterwards united to the manor of Ferrers.³

Besides these three manors there were other lordships in the parish, belonging to the Calthorpes (from Sir Edmund de St. Omer), to Alan, Earl of Richmond, and to Robert Fitz-Roger.

The temporalities of Coxford Priory here amounted to 32s. 4d. per annum in 1428. These passed at the Dissolution to the Duke of Norfolk, and so to the Townshends.⁴

¹ See Appendix 1 (b), and Note at the end.

² A deed of 1523 notes a custom with regard to the tithing of weights and measures, that all the tithe belonged to the Prior of Coxford, except that coming from certain lands belonging to the Prior and Convent of Horsham St. Faith's "Depos. M. 247-1523. de. substract. dec. l. acr. pisand. voc. Drishew Consuetudo decimandi pisas et mensuras Æs decimæ p'tinent Priori de Cokesford except. decimas provenientibus de certis terris Prioris et Conv. de Horsham S. Fidis" (*Tanner's MSS.*).

³ The Priory of Horsham St. Faith's also held numerous parcels of land in Broomsthorpe and East Rudham, to which the name of "St. Faith's" (commonly corrupted to "The Faze") is still attached.—See App. I (c). These also, no doubt, formed part of the Lady Sybil's dowry.

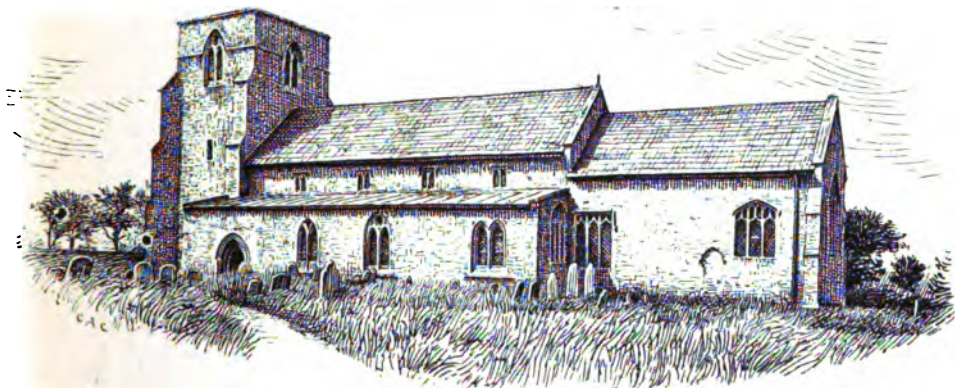
⁴ Of the temporalities it is said:—Prior de Coxford habet eam in proprios usus; habet mansum, cum una carucate terræ. Et est ibi Vicaria ad quam pertinet mansum sine terra.

Estimatio Rectoria præter portionem et Vicariam indecimata xxvi

The Chapel of All Saints, in the churchyard of St. Peter's, West Rudham, is mentioned in 1493. Some traces of the foundations remain, running in a south-westerly direction, at a distance of about 15 ft. from the south porch.

There were two guilds : one of St. Peter, the other of St. John.

The Church of West Rudham is dedicated to St. Peter. It consists of a low western tower, nave, south aisle, and chancel. Before 1890 it had fallen into a very ruinous state, but it was then thoroughly and well restored. The flat post-Reformation ceiling to the chancel was removed, and it was thrown once more open to the roof

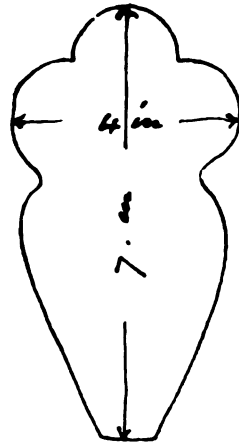
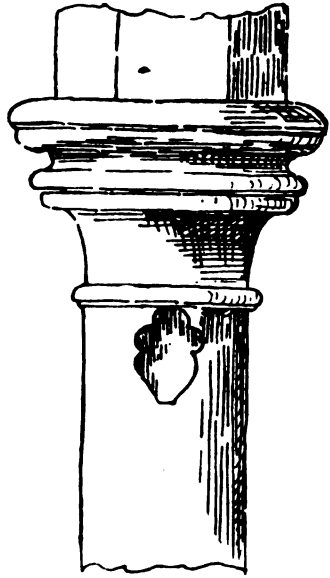


West Rudham Church : from the south-east.

There are no remains of either the Saxon or of the Norman church. Of the Early English building, remains exist in the west wall and south aisle. In the west wall, on the south side, which is of great thickness, there is a small lancet window, the oldest in the church. The three windows in the south aisle are Early English two-light, of different periods in the style. There is also a beautiful little bit of leaf-moulding of this period in the capital of

(*Rot. Norf.* xxiv) marc . Estimatio Vicaria ejusdem V. marc . non taxatur. Portio prioris de Castleacre in ead. xiiis. iiid. Portio prioris de Bynham in eadem iis. Procuratio vis. viiid. Synodalia pro termino S. Michael xcd. et pro termino Pasch. xid. Denarii S. Petri xiid. (*Tanner's MSS.*).

the south-west pillar of the arcade. The pillars and arches of the arcade belong to the Decorated style. Some remains of colour may still be seen on the mouldings of the arches. The rest of the church is Perpendicular. The three large windows in the north wall of the nave are very fine specimens of this style, and contain a few fragments of stained glass, saved, doubtless from the sacrilegious hands of Richard Dowsett, the Grand Inquisitor of the Long Parliament. The oldest register contains a notice of the rebuilding of the chancel in 1456, as we have remarked elsewhere.¹ The piscina is of ogee form, with crockets and finial, and contains the emblems of the Passion. There is a very interesting little reliquary, with trefoil opening, in the western face of the easternmost pillar of the arcade. The timbers of the roof of the nave and aisle are ancient, the corbels of the former being alternately an angel flying and bearing a scroll, and a monk; while in the aisle three corbels represent Henry VIII, Jane Seymour, and Edward VI as a boy King, respectively, from west to east: evidence to my mind of a restoration in the time of the latter. There are signs in the south wall of a south porch. At the entrance to the south door there are two ancient



Receptacle for Heart Burial, on west face of south pier of nave-arcade, West Rudham Church.

¹ See Appendix III.



Edward VI.

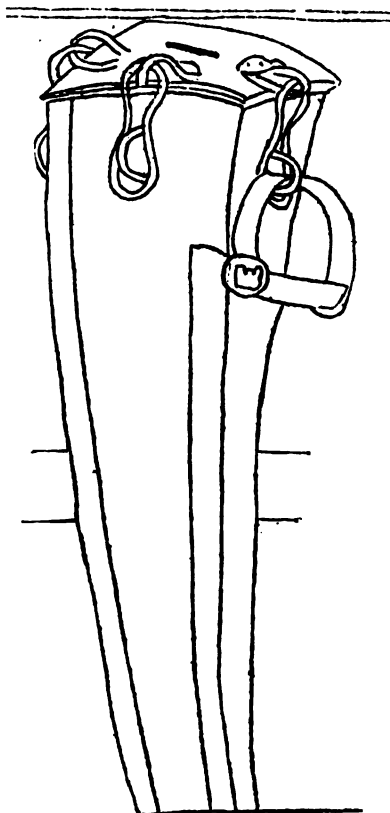


Jane Seymour.



Henry VIII.

Three Corbels in South Aisle, West Rudham.



Seventeenth-century Alms Box

stone coffin-lids. On the north side there is a turret, which contained the staircase to the rood-loft which no longer exists. A very poor screen was removed at the last restoration. The pews in the south aisle are noticeable for the beauty and variety of their carved poppy-heads, no two being alike. I would draw attention to an interesting seventeenth-century almsbox, originally possessing three remarkable padlocks, of which only one now remains.

The church plate is modern, with the exception of the paten, which is of silver, about 4 ins. in diameter, and having a foot about an inch in height, on the bottom of which is inscribed, "West Roudham, A° 1567."

There are three bells, only one of which is now hung, the others being unfortunately cracked. One of these latter is inscribed "✠ Dulcis sisto melis Campā Vocor Michis," and on the crown are three shields with three bells, crown in centre, and ermine marks (Brasyer, *temp.* Henry VIII).

The Church of West Rudham, far more than that of East Rudham, displays the long history and unbroken continuity of the Catholic Church in this land; and is a testimony to the value of a reverent and careful dealing with these monuments of the past.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

Copies of Four Original Documents relating to the Parishes and to Coxford Priory, now in the British Museum.

(a) CHARTER OF COXFORD ABBEY, 1146-1149.

✠ Willelmo dei gratia norewicensi episcopo et domino suo Willelmo comiti de Warenna et omnibus sanctæ ecclesiæ filiis tam presentibus quam futuris. Johannes de querceto salutem.

Sciatis me concessisse deo et Sancte Marie et canonicis de rudeham duas ecclesias ipsius ville cum omnibus pertinentiis suis. et totam preterea terram laicam quam bruno et Willelmus presbyteri tenuerunt. Scilicet quam Avus meus Radulfus de querceto et Willelmus filius ejus patruus meus et Ego liberam ab omnibus

consuetudinibus et exaccionibus et ecclesiasticam possessionem fecimus. Sciatis etiam me dedisse eis hortos freke. Godwini. Lamberti. Wlnoti. et Warini. et almari. et molendinum de cokesforde et vivarium. et caldewellewong. et totam terram que est inter caldewellewong. et aquam de tatersate¹. et ketelesmere-wong. et totam Noremerewong. et Radulfum filium Wlmari et totam terram suam. et burstanum et terram suam. et hoc in escambio propter terram almari de gartuna quam moyses tenet. et servitium sumerledi sacerdotis et terram suam quam patruus meus Willelmus de querceto dedit ei. et Godwinum scriptorem et totam terram suam. et tocheswda et totam terram de marham que de feudo meo esse disnoscitur. Et molendinum de torp de vivario et ipsum vivarium. et opera que homines ipsius ville facere solabant ad stagnum predicti vivarii reficiendum. et duos homines juxta predictum molendinum manentes. scilicet Godwinum et Vluingum fratrem suum et terram illorum. et dimidium nemus de besefen quod est extra parcum. Et ut ipsi canonici pro anima avi mei Radulfi de querceto et vxoris ejus. et anima patris mei et matris meae. et Willelmi de querceto patris mei et Rogeri. et sororum eorum. et Walerani de rocesforde. et omnium parentum meorum. et pro mea et uxoris meae et fratrum meorum et sororum mearum. Omnia supradicta inconcusse et honorifice et quiete jure perpetuo teneant; ea et presentis scripti attestazione et sigilli mei appositione corroboro et confirmo. Salvo servitio comitis.

Hujus autem donationis sunt testes. Reinaldus de Warennia. Radulfus de Wiburvilla. Radulfus filius osmundi. et Sibilla uxor domini johannis. Petrus de caineto. et matheus frater ejus. Nicolaus clericus et Godwinus frater ejus. Scul' et Willelmus frater ejus. Radulfus sacerdos de Saxtorpe. et magister Willelmus maurinus. Willelmus sacerdos. Nicolaus de stanhoe. Wache diaconus. Gaufridus de West rudeham. Radulfus avis. et Nicholaus clericus de barsham. et Walterus clericus. et albertus. et Rigolf. et Warinus. et Robertus de croft.

The following paragraph is in a different handwriting:—

Ista conventio renovata fuit coram domino Willelmo Norwicensi episcopo apud Tornedis in vigilia ascensionis domini. die Sancti Dunstani presente ipso Johanne de Caineto. Hujus autem donationis et renovationis testes sunt. Willelmus Norwicensis archidiaconus. Tuoldus Capellanus. Radulfus de Snaringes. Ernaldus capellanus. Adam de Calna. Radulfus clericus de Saxlingham. Johannes dapifer. Petrus constabularius. Willelmus de Bucketuna. Arthur. Adam filius Johannis dapiferi. Willelmus filius Ranulfi.

(British Museum, *Harley Charter* 47 H. 45).

¹ The name of Tatterset still belongs to a neighbouring village and parish, now alternately called Gatesend. The other names have mostly been lost.

(b) PAPAL CONFIRMATION TO HORSHAM ST. FAITH OF LANDS IN
RUDHAM, 1163.

Alexander episcopus servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis Bertramo priori monasterii Sancte Fidis de Horsham ejusque fratribus tam presentibus quam futuris regularem fidem professis. In perpetuum.

Religiosam vitam eligentibus apostolicum convenit adesse presidium . ne forte cujuslibet temeritatis incursus aut eos a proposito revocet aut robur quod absit sacre religionis infringat. Quocirca dilecti in domino filii vestris justis postulationibus clementer annuimus . et prefatum Monasterium in quo divino mancipati estis obsequio . sub beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus . et presentis scripti privilegio communimus. Statuentes ut quascumque possessiones . quaecumque bona idem Monasterium impresentiarum juste et canonice possidet . aut infuturum concessione pontificum . largitione regum vel principum . oblatione fidelium . seu aliis justis modis patrante domino poterit adipisci , firma vobis vestrisque successoribus , et illibata permaneant. Ne quibus hec propriis duximus exprimenda vocabulis. Villam de Horsham cum hominibus . Terris . Nemoribus . Pascuis , et pertinentiis suis . quemadmodum Robertus filius Walteri et filii ejus vobis dederunt . et hospitale ejusdem ville quod habetis a fratribus hospitalis Ierusalem cum nemore . et omnibus pertinentiis suis . Terram de Ruddaham cum omnibus pertinentiis suis . quam Sibilla uxor prefati Roberti vobis dedit . Ecclesiam de Horsforda . et Ecclesiam de Mor. In Lundoniis . Ecclesiam Sancte Margarite . cum omnibus terris quas in eadem villa Robertus filius Walteri vobis in helemosinam dedit, etc.

Decernimus ergo ut nulli omnino hominum liceat supradictum Monasterium temere perturbare . aut ejus possessiones auferre vel ablatas retinere . minuere . seu quibuslibet vexationibus fatigare . Sed illibata omnia et integra conserventur eorum pro quorum gubernatione et sustentatione concessa sunt , usibus omnimodis profutura. Salva sedis apostolice auctoritate . et dyocesani episcopi canonica justitia. Siqua igitur infuturum ecclesiastica secularive persona hanc nostre constitutionis paginam sciens contra eam temere venire temptaverit . [secundo tertiove commonita . nisi presumptionem suam congrua satisfactione correxerit,]¹ potestatis honorisque sui dignitate careat . reamque se divino judicio existere de perpetrata iniquitate cognoscat . et a sacratissimo corpore ac sanguine Dei et domini redemptoris nostri Jhesu Christi aliena fiat . atque in extremo examine districtae ultioni subjaceat. Cunctis autem eidem loco sua jura servantibus . sit pax domini nostri Jhesu Christi . Quatinus et hic fructus bone actionis percipiant .

¹ This has been struck out.

et apud districtum iudicem premia eterne pacis invenient. Amen.
Amen. Amen.

Alexander Papa. III. Sanctus Petrus Sanctus Paulus † vias tuas
domine demonstra mihi.

Ego Alexander, Catholice Ecclesie Episcopus.

Bene Valete (monogram).

(Followed by crosses and autograph signatures of ten cardinals
and bishops.)

Datum, Turon', per manum Hermannii Sancte Romane ecclesie
subdiaconi . et Notarii . vii . Kal. Jun. Indictione . xi. Incarna-
tionis dominice Anno .m°. c°. lx°. iii°. Pontificatus vero domini
Alexandri Papa .III. anno quarto.

(British Museum, *Cotton Charter*, Augustus II, 136.)

NOTE.—*Sibilla uxor præfati Roberti, etc.*

The *Genealogia Fundatoris*, quoted in Dugdale, begins:—

"Domina Sibilla soror Johannis de Cayneto, filia Radulfi de Cayneto,
qui venit ad conquestum Angliæ, maritata fuit domino Roberti filio
Walteri, fundatori domus sanctæ Fidis de Horsham."—Dugdale's
Monasticon, vol. iii, pp. 635, 636.

The Lady Sybil was, therefore, it will be observed, great-aunt of
Emma de Cayneto, who married Michael Belet.

The Continuator of Blomefield calls the husband Robert de Cademo,
or Caen, son of Walter de Cademo, lord of Horsford.

(c) SURVEY OF LANDS IN EAST AND WEST RUDHAM BELONGING TO
COXFORD, 1410-1411.

The annotations in margin and text in a later hand.

†

Westrudham.

*Hec sunt terre prioris et conuentus in villa et in campis de West-
rudham secundum nouas abuttaciones Anno regni regis Henrici
quarti xij°.*

Lord
Frederick
Campbell.
Charter, xxi, 8.
† f. 3.

In primis tres acre apud Ovenhowe iuxta terram Prioris de Ouenhagh.
Castelacre ex parte occidentali et capud australe abuttat super
terram [*scilicet viij acr.*] eiusdem prioris.

Item nouem acre apud Schephoucroft iuxta terram Simonis Schephou-
Grygge ex parte aquilonali et capud occidentale abuttat super croft.
communem brueram de Westrudham.

Item una acra apud Couperesschephous iuxta terram Willelmi Cowperiscroft.
Calthorp militis ex parte australi et capud occidentale abuttat
super Couperesschephous.

Item septemdecim acre apud Westwong iuxta terram prioris de Westwong.
Castelacre ex parte aquilonali et capud occidentale abuttat super
Wodegate.

Item septem rode apud Ovenhowe iuxta terram Prioris de Castel- Ouenhagh.
acre ex parte australi et capud orientale abuttat super terram
Prioris de Cokesford.

- Potteriswong.** Item vna acra et dimidia apud Pottere Wong iuxta terram quondam Coupers ex parte occidentali et capud aquilonale abuttat super Massynghamgate et est quedam fovera.
- Salteris-crundel.** Item quinque acra in Salterescrundel iuxta Massynghamgate ex parte aquilonali et capud orientale abuttat super terram quondam Johannis de Kerbrook.
- Item prope ibidem iiij acre ad finem occidentalem dictarum quinque acrarum iuxta terram Johannis Bacheler ex parte aquilonali et capud orientale abuttat super terram Prioris de Cokesford.
- Potteriswong.** Item quatuor acre apud Pottere Wong iuxta terram Simonis Grygge ex parte occidentali et capud aquilonale abuttat super Massynghamgate.
- Weseynham-gate.** Item due acra apud Weseynhamgate ex parte orientali et capud australe abuttat super terram Simonis Grygge.
- Bromhildele.** Item vna acra et dimidia apud Bromhildele iuxta terram Willelmi de Calthorp militis ex parte orientali et capud australe abuttat super terram dicti Willelmi.
- Bulhowe.** Item, tres acra apud Bullehowe iuxta terram quondam Couperes ex parte australi et vtrumque capud abuttat super terram prioris de Cokesford.
- Lyngbrya.** Item vij acre apud Lyngbrys ex parte occidentali et capud aquilonale abuttat super Ryggesty.
- Leyhtenelond.** Item septem acre vocate Leyhtenelond prope ibidem iuxta terram Galfridi Happeres ex parte orientali et capud australi abuttat super terram quondam Coupers.
- Chotettys-crundel.** Item quatuor acre apud Chotettescrundel iuxta terram prioris Castelaere ex parte aquilonali et capud occidentale abuttat super terram prioris de Cokesford vocatam Leyhtenelond.
- Bulhoghyl.** Item quatuor acre apud Bullehowhyl iuxta terram prioris de Castelaere ex parte aquilonali et capud orientale abuttat super terram Johannis Bacheler.
- Hangandenorthhil.** Item tres acre apud Hangandenorthhyl iuxta terram Jacobi Gyn ex parte australi et capud orientale abuttat super terram quondam Caves.
- Rygsty.** Item nouem acre apud Ryggesty iuxta terram quondam Gonett ex parte orientali et capud australe abuttat super Ryggesty.
- Sexacris.** Item sex acre apud sex acras iuxta terram Jacobi Gyn ex parte occidentali et capud aquilonale abuttat super terram prioris de Castleacre.
- Wynwecloth.** Item quatuor acre apud Wynwecloth iuxta terram prioris de Castleacre ex parte occidentali et capud aquilonale abuttat super Happleegate.
- Helmeresty.** Item septem rode apud Helmersty iuxta terram Oliueri de Swathyng ex parte occidentali et capud australe abuttat super terram Jacobi Gyn.

Item vna acra et dimidia apud Schortpatteswong iuxta terram Schortpattys-
quondam Coupers ex parte occidentali et capud australe abuttat wong.
super Patteswong.

Item vna acra et dimidia apud Helmerescroft iuxta terram Helmercrof-
prioris de Castleacre ex parte orientali et capud aquilonale abuttat
super Helmeresty.

Item apud Helmeresty vna acra et dimidia iuxta terram Willelmi Helmersty.
de Calthorp militis ex parte occidentali et capud aquilonale abuttat
super Helmeresty.

Item tres acre et dimidia iuxta Happleegate ex parte australi Happleegate.
iuxta terram Oliueri de Swathying ex parte occidentali et capud
aquilonale abuttat super Happleegate.

Item due rode et dimidia . apud Heylondeshende iuxta terram Heylondys
quondam Coupers ex parte australi et capud orientale abuttat super hende.
terram Thome Herman.

Item tres rode apud Vphowes iuxta terram Thome Skyppon Vphowys.
ex parte australi et capud abuttat super terram quondam
Coupers.

Item v rode iacentes subtus messuagium quondam Edwardi de Coyntoun.
Sancto Oliuero ex parte australi et capud orientale abbuttat super
Wesynhamgate.

Item vij rode iacentes prope ibidem iuxta terram predicti Wesynham-
Edwardi ex parte australi et capud orientale abbuttat super gate.
hamgate.

† *Brunesthorp*.¹

† f. 4.

Willelmus de Pinkeneye² tenet in villa de Brunesthorp lx acras
terre et lx acras marisci et j mesuagium et liberum taurum et
aprum de comite de W. it.³ per seruicium dimidii feodi militis
et Idem comes tenet de comite Mareschallo et Idem de Domino
Rege in capite Idem ut supra tenet per seruicium predictum viij^{xx}
viij acras et dimidiam terre quas xij^{clm} sui villani de eo tenent Villani.
cum suis mesuagiis.

Matildis relicta Galfridi tenet de dicto Willelmo de eodem feodo
j acram et dimidiam terre per seruicium vjd.

Petrus filius Rogeri tenet de eodem Willelmo vnum mesuagium
et vi acras terre per seruicium xiijd . et ad scutagium ob.

Johannes filius Henrici tenet xxxj acras terre de Petro Bozon per
seruicium xij . d . et ad scutagium j . d . et Idem Petrus de predicto
Willelmo et Idem Willelmus de predicto comite ut supra.

Symon de Burgh tenet de eodem Willelmo j mesuagium xij acras
terre per seruicium xiiij . d . et ad scutagium iij . d .

¹ Now known as Broomsthorpe.

² Pinkney is now the name of a property in Tatterford and Brooms-
thorpe, owned by Mr. Scott-Chad, of Pinkney and Thursford.

³ Sic. Earl Warren held lands in Rudham, and probably here also.
The reading should be (!) "comite de Warren in ibi."

Willelmus de Newton tenet de eodem Willelmo j acram terre per seruicium j . d . et ad scutagium ob.

Alanus Rydeinan tenet de eodem Willelmo j acram terre per seruicium j . d .

Thomas de Simpringham tenet de eodem Willelmo vnum mesuagium et ij acras terre per seruicium iiij . d .

Henricus de la Mor tenet de eodem Willelmo j acram terre per seruicium j . d .

Henricus frater eius tenet de eodem Willelmo j acram et dimidiam terre per seruicium j . d . Johannes filius Henrici tenet de eodem Willelmo iiij acras terre et j molendinum aquaticum per seruicium iiij . d .

Michil Roffey tenet de eodem Willelmo iiij acras terre per seruicium vij . d . ob.

H. tenet de eodem Willelmo j acram terre per seruicium ij . d .

Ricardus Cimi tenet de eodem Willelmo j acram terre per seruicium ij . d .

Prior de Cokesford tenet de eodem Willelmo xxv acras terre in pura et perpetua elemosina.

Prior de Sancta Fide tenet de eodem Willelmo iiij acras terre in pura et perpetua elemosina.

Prior de Simpringham tenet de eodem Willelmo xxiiij acras terre in pura et perpetua elemosina.

Domus de Kerbrok . tenet de eodem Willelmo vnum mesuagium ij acras terre in pura et perpetua elemosina.

Hospitalis de Lenn . tenet de eodem Willelmo j acram et dimidiam in pura et perpetua elemosina.

Prior de Simpringham habet aduocationem ecclesie de Brunesthorp et tenet eandem ecclesiam in proprios vsus ex dono antecessorum predicti Willelmi ad quam ecclesiam pertinent predictae xxiiij acre terre ut supra.

† f. 5.

† *Estrudham.*

Hee sunt terre Prioris et conuentus de Cokesford in villa et in campis de Estrudham secundum nouas abuttaciones ex parte australi ville Anno regni regis Henrici quarti post conquestam xij.

In primis quatuor pecie terre in Schryngesdele.

Item prope ibidem [*in manibus Johannis Hattere*] tres acre iuxta terram Martini Hattere ex parte australi et capud orientale abuttat super Hoppedykgate.

Item prope ibidem [*Henricus Westun J. Hoppar*] due acre et dimidia iuxta terram Martini Hattere ex parte australi et capud orientale abuttat super Hoppedykgate.

Item apud Byltepokescroft [*in propriis manibus*] octo acre iuxta terram Thome Symmys ex parte occidentali et capud australe abuttat super Helgotonegate.

vnde xliij acre
in ij peciis
cum f. . . .
Item xj acre
Item xij....

Item prope ibidem [*H. Westun J. Sowarby*] tres acre iuxta terram Thome Symyns ex parte orientali et capud australe abuttat super Helghtonegate.

Item apud le Gore [*J. Hoppar*] acre et dimidia iuxta terram Martini Hattere ex parte aquilonali et capud occidentale abuttat super Reynhamgate et est quod Gore, etc.

Item apud Schryringgesdele tres acre iuxta Helghtonegate ex parte aquilonali et capud orientale abuttat super Hoppedykgate.

Item apud Le Gore [*in propriis manibus*] vna roda iuxta terram Martini Hattere ex parte australi et capud aquilonale abuttat super Helghtonegate.

infra vij acras,
suprascriptas
vt estimatur
et in pro-
priis mani-
bus.

Item prope ibidem [*in propriis manibus*] dimidia acra iuxta terram quondam Reicheri Maupas ex parte aquilonali et capud orientale abuttat super Helghtonegate.

Item prope ibidem [*vna pecia*] tres rode [*in propriis manibus*] iuxta Reynhamgate ex parte occidentali et capud australe abuttat super terram quondam Willelmi Nally.

Item prope [*vna pecia*] ibidem vna pecia iuxta terram Edwardi Vincent ex parte orientali et capud australe abuttat super terram quondam Willelmi Nally [*xj acre*].

Item in Kotecroft [*in propriis manibus*] nouem acre iuxta terram Martini Hattere et capud aquilonale abuttat super Chapeleynescroft.

Item prope ibidem [*in propriis manibus*] quatuordecim acre iuxta terram Galfridi de Burgh ex parte orientali et capud aquilonale abuttat super Chapeleynescroft.

Item [*in propriis manibus*] vna magna pecia vocatur Elyswong iuxta terram quondam Cheynes ex parte orientali et capud australe abuttat super Schortlond . [*xxx acre*].

[Item in Knottescroft due acre et vna roda iuxta Helghtonegate ex parte orientali et capud aquilonale abuttat super Thorpgate.]¹

{ Crown,
cum
clauso
paruo.

Item apud Mayesattehyl septem rode iuxta Knottescroft ex parte orientali et capud aquilonale abuttat super Thorpgate.

Item in Heriotdyescroft [*Ricardus Crowper . H. Westun*] tres rode iuxta Helghtonegate ex parte occidentali et capud australe abuttat super Cotecroft.

Item [*Willelmus Hamund*] due acre et una roda in Capescroft iuxta terram quondam Roberti Caunseler ex parte aquilonali et capud occidentale abuttat super Chapeleynescroft.

Item in Trewelouescroft [*Willelmus Hamund*] vna acra et dimidia iuxta Capescroft ex parte aquilonali et capud occidentale abuttat + f. 5b. super Chapeleynescroft.

Item [*Willelmus Hamund*] dimidia acra vocata Treweloues-halfaker inter Chapeleynescroft ex vtraque parte et capud aquilonale abuttat super terram quondam Roberti Caunseler.

¹ This had been struck out.

Item [*Ricardus Crown*] vna acra et dimidia apud Hennecrundel iuxta terram Radulphi de Oxwyk ex parte australi et capud occidentale abuttat super terram quondam Chapeleyne.

Item [*terra hospit¹ . Ricardi Cowper*] quatuor acre apud Moresyde iuxta terram quondam Roberti Caunseler ex parte occidentale et capud aquilonale abuttat super Le More.

Item apud [*Ricardus Crown*] Schortlond vna acra iuxta terram quondam Ade Cokerel ex parte orientali et capud aquilonale abuttat super terram quondam Cheneyes.

Item prope ibidem [*Ricardus Crown*] vna acra et dimidia iuxta terram Radulphi de Oxwyk ex parte orientali et capud aquilonale abuttat super terram quondam Cheneyes.

Item prope ibidem [*Ricardus Crown*] dimidia acra iuxta terram quondam Roberti Caunseler ex parte occidentali et capud australe abuttat super terram Roberti Rekant.

Item prope ibidem [*Ricardus Crown*] tres rode iuxta terram quondam Roberti Caunseler ex parte orientali et capud australe abuttat super terram Edmundi Vincent.

Item prope ibidem [*in propriis manibus*] quatuor acre iuxta terram Thome Symmis ex parte orientali et capud australe abuttat super flaxlond.

Item vna magna pecia vocata flaxlond [*xviij acre*].

Item vna magna [*xij acre*] pecia vocata Netherbaretteswong iuxta terram Edmundi Vincent et ex parte orientali et capud australe abuttat super terram prioris Sancte ffidis.

Item tres rode in Lytelhowede [*Partryk*] iuxta terram Martini Hattere ex parte aquilonali et capud orientale abuttat super Blakemerewe.

Item vna acra [*et j roda*] prope ibidem iuxta terram quondam Thome de Bekham ex parte australi et capud orientale abuttat super Blakemerewe.

Item quinque [*vna pecia*] rode prope ibidem iuxta terram quondam Chapeleyne ex parte aquilonali et capud orientale abuttat super Blakemeregate.

[Item dimidia [*vna pecia*] acra apud Blakemeregate iuxta terram Martini Hattere ex parte australi et capud orientale abuttat super Blakemeregate.]²

Item vna magna pecia prope ibidem iuxta terram quondam Johannis de Chosele ex parte aquilonali et capud orientale abuttat super Blakemeregate [*x acre . ix acre*].

Item vna acra [*et j roda*] apud [*Johannes Partritch*] Baretteswongeshende iuxta terram quondam Johannis de Chosele ex parte aquilonali et capud orientale abuttat super terram prioris Sancte ffidis.

¹ *I.e.*, the Hospital of Boycodeswade.

² This had been struck out.

Item quinque [*Partrik*] rode apud Halfhyl iuxta terram quondam Cheynes ex parte aquilonali et capud occidentale abuttat super terram Sancte ffidis.

Item prope ibidem [*Partrik*] due acra et dimidia iuxta terram quondam Cheynes ex parte aquilonali et capud orientale abuttat super terram prioris Sancte ffidis.

† Item due acre [*Johannes Hattere*] et dimidia apud Wesenhamgate iuxta terram quondam Roberti Bonet ex parte aquilonali et capud occidentale abuttat super Wesenhamgate. † f. 6.

Item vna magna pecia apud [*Partryk*] Netherthorncrundel iuxta terram prioris Sancte ffidis ex parte australi et capud occidentale abuttat super terram eiusdem prioris [*xiiij acre*].

Item vna [*Partryk*] magna pecia apud Ouerthorncrundel iuxta terram Roberti Rekaunt ex parte occidentali et capud australe super terram prioris Sancte ffidis [*xij acre*].

Item [*Prior occupat sine titulo Sancte Ffidis*] vna magna pecia apud Grenehowe iuxta [*ex vtraque parte vie*] terram prioris Sancte ffidis ex parte orientali et capud australe abuttat super Helghtoneheythe [*ix acre*].

Item quinque acre in campis de Brounsthorp apud Hoppedykgate ex parte orientali et capud aquilonale abuttat super Hoppedykhowe [*vel Presthowe*].

Item [*Cauncelleriscroft*] tres rode subtus Schakedenezerd ex parte australi et capud occidentale abuttat super viam regalem.

Item ex parte aquilonali dicte ville.

Item Johannes Hattere occupat vnam rodam iacentem inter terram Johannis Sad ex parte aquilonali et terram Willelmi Coke ex parte australi et capud orientale abbuttat super terram de Chenys et capud occidentale abbuttat super terram prioris Sancte Ffidis et reddit per annum ij. d. pro firma.

Item Ricardus Covper tenet vij rodas terre iacentes inter terram Johannis Partryk ex parte aquilonali et terram Thome Newe ex parte australi et capud orientale abbuttat super terram Prioris et Conuentus de Cokesford et capud occidentale abbuttat super terram natiuam in tenura Willelmi Hammund et reddit per annum.

Item iij rode in vna pecia apud Halfhyll inter terram Roberti Partrych ex parte australi et terram natiuam Nicholai Roo ex parte aquilonali et capud orientale abbuttat super terram prioris Sancte ffidis et capud australe abbuttat super terram prioris de Cokesford continentem quinque rodas terre vt supra.¹

† *Estrudham.*

† f. 6b.

Radulphus de Knyueto tenet de priore de Cokesford viij^{xx} acras pasture separate per seruicium v. s. et ad scutagium iijd. et pro j

¹ The last three paragraphs are all in a later hand.

quarterio feodi militis et hoc facit pro eodem tenemento et pro alio tenemento quod tenentes sui subscripti de eo tenent Scilicet Laurencius de Mauert tenet de eodem Radulpho viij acras terre per seruicium viij*d.* et ad scutagium ob. Cristiana le Godewykes tenet de eodem Radulpho j acram terre per seruicium ij*d.* et ad scutagium ob. Reginaldus Wythman tenet de eodem Radulpho j acram terre per seruicium j*d.* Johannes de Ferrers tenet de eodem Radulpho j messuagium vij acras terre per seruicium x*d.* Ricardus de Knyeto et fratres tenent de eodem Radulpho vj acras terre per seruicium j*d.* Hugo Tinctor tenet de eodem Radulpho iij acras terre per seruicium ij*d.* et ad scutagium ob. Willelmus Tinctor tenet de dicto Hugone de dicto feodo iij acras et dimidiam terre per seruicium ij*d.* Hilde de Knyeto tenet de dicto Radulpho j acram terre per seruicium iiij*d.* Heredes Bertholomei Tinctoris tenent de eodem Radulpho j messuagium et j acram terre et dimidiam perticatam terre per seruicium x*d.* ob. Symon de Burgo tenet de eodem Radulpho j messuagium et vj acras terre per seruicium ijs. ij*d.* ob. et ad scutagium j*d.* Godefridus de Titilsale tenet de eodem Radulpho j perticatam terre per seruicium vij*d.* Radulphus Trenchende tenet de eodem Radulpho dimidiam acram et dimidiam perticatam terre per seruicium ob. R. de Weyerpyn . tenet de eodem Radulpho j cotagium et j acram terre per seruicium x*d.* Willelmus de Newton tenet de eodem Radulpho j cotagium et j acram terre per seruicium viij*d.* ob. q. Walterus filius Petri tenet de eodem Radulpho viij acras terre per seruicium vj*d.* Thomas Grain tenet de eodem Radulpho j cotagium per seruicium xiiij*d.* ob. Ricardus Delfys tenet de eodem Radulpho j cotagium per seruicium iiij*d.* Reginaldus Skeretar tenet de eodem Radulpho de eodem ij acras terre per seruicium j*d.* ob.

NOTE.—Most of the field-names in this fifteenth-century Survey have long since disappeared. The villages mentioned all had the same name then as now—Massingham, Weasenham, Harpley, Helhoughton, may all be recognised under the spellings of Massyngnam, Weseynham (or Wesynham), Happle (or Happlee), Helgotone (or Helghtonne). Chapeleynscroft is the land pertaining to the Chaplain of the Hospital. Notice “True love’s Croft” and “True love’s Half-acre.” Is this an unexpected bit of romance in a field-name, or is “Truelove” only the prosaic surname of an individual? A pathetic interest attaches, too, to the land called “formerly Cheyney’s.”

Gate means “on the road to.” *Wong*, in this Survey and in the original charter, means “meadow,” or “grove of trees.” Both are good old English words, and the former still survives in the phrase, “Gang your ain gate” (Scotch) for “Go your own way.” The latter is unfortunately obsolete.

(d) INSTITUTION OF ANTHONY BURRALL, 1652.

To all whom these presents shall concerne Sir Horatio Towns-

hend of East Reynham in the County of Norfolk Barronet sendeth Greeting.

Knowe ye that I the said Sir Horatio Townshend the true and undoubted Patron of the Vicaridge of West Rudham in the said County (the same being now voyd by the absence of Nicodemus Paulett Clerke the last Incumbent there, and the Right of Presentation to me in this behalfe belonging) doe by these presents present Anthony Burrall Clerke, And desire you will vouchsafe to admitt him the said Anthony Burrall to the said Vicaridge of West Rudham and to institute and induct him Vicar thereof with all its Rights members and appurtenances, And further to doe and execute such other lawfull Act and Acts as shall in this behalfe be convenient and necessary.

Given under my hand and seale this seaventh day of May in the yeare of our Lord God according to the Computacion of the Church of England one Thousand six hundred and Two and fiftie.

Signed HORATIO TOWNESHEND.
(seal of arms)

Sealed and subscribed in the presence of

Tim. Felton

Nehemias Bond

John Bailly.

(British Museum, *Additional Charter* 14848.) Purchased at Mr. Dawson Turner's sale, June 6th, 1859.

NOTE.—This Presentation is interesting as an example of one made under the Commonwealth, and is not addressed to the Bishop of the Diocese, the Church of England being in abeyance, but “to all whom these presents shall concern.” Anthony Burrell was probably an Independent.

It will be noticed that there is no mention of him in the official list of Incumbents of West Rudham, nor of his predecessor, Nicodemus Paulett.

APPENDIX II.

(a) THE VICARS OF EAST RUDHAM.

- 1301. John de Titeshale, instituted Vicar, presented by the Prior and convent of Cokesford.
- 1310. Peter de Buxstone, ditto.
- 1314. Richard Ringstede, ditto.
- 1306. Bened. de Fakenham, ditto.
- 1328. William Keys, ditto.
- 1349. John de Sustede, ditto.
- 1393. Thomas Grey, ditto.
- 1416. Adam de Erneley, ditto.
- 1425. William Mallere, ditto.
- 1429. Thomas Howlet, ditto.

1448. William Leutt, by John, Prior, etc.
 1478. John Belle, by the Bishop ; a lapse.
 1511. John Stifling, by the prior, etc.
 1554. William Blakey, the Bishop ; a lapse.
 1555. Bernard Mankinholles, ditto.
 John Head.
 1566. John Muriel, by the Duke of Norfolk.
 Edmund Warne.
 1597. Henry Baldwin, by Jane, relict of Sir Roger Townsend.
 1612. Richard Kettlewell, by Sir John Stanhope, Baron de Harrington.
 1625. John Robotham, by Sir Roger Townsend, Bart.
 1629. John Ramsey, ditto.
 1669. Thomas Gibson, by Hor., Lord Townsend.
 1693. Ant. Austin, by Charles, Lord Townsend.
 1697. William Marshall, the Bishop ; a lapse.
 1704. Robert Baldwin, by Charles Townsend.
 1707. Patr. Guthry, ditto.
 1720. John Athill, ditto.

The Vicarages of East and West Rudham were consolidated, October 13th, 1720.

(b) VICARS OF WEST RUDHAM.

Mr. Godfrey, Vicar of West Rudham, and Richard, his son, were found to have been killed in the *Iter* of the King's Judges, A^o fourteenth Edward I.

1305. William de Rademelde, Vicar, presented by the Prior and convent of Cokesford.
 1342. Robart Chattocks, ditto.
 1348. Robert Weynold, ditto.
 1349. Thomas James, ditto.
 1391. John Symth, ditto.
 1395. Barth. Benet, ditto.
 1401. Steph. Honyter, ditto.
 1404. Nich. Chandelers, ditto.
 1410. N. Chandelers, the Bishop ; by lapse.
 1414. William Brown, by the Prior, etc.
 1429. Robert Insum, the Bishop ; by lapse.
 1431. William Thurton, by the Prior, etc.
 1448. Dion. Iggys, the Bishop ; a lapse.
 Thomas Spark
 1480. Thomas Hempton, by the Prior, etc.
 Thomas Spendeler.
 1492. Robert Robinson, ditto.
 1498. And. Waryn, ditto.
 1504. Thomas Sylesden.
 1506. Robert Lawe, ditto.
 1535. Peter Stancliff, ditto.
 1554. William Blackey, the Bishop ; a lapse.

1555. John Baymunt, ditto.
 1560. John Head, by Thomas, Duke of Norfolk.
 1566. John Muriel, ditto.
 Richard Brazell.
 1572. Marm. Cholmeley, by Roger Blenerhasset, etc.
 1583. Andrew Pilkington, by Roger Townsend, Esq.
 1616. Richard Kettlewell, by Jane, Lady Berkley,
 1625. John Robotham by Sir R. Townsend, Bart.
 1639. Michael Mylla, the King in the minority of Roger Townsend,
 Bart.
 1659. Henry Atkyns, by Hor. Townsend, Bart.
 1669. Thomas Gibson, ditto.
 1693. Ant. Austen, by Charles, Lord Townsend.
 1697. William Marshall, the Bishop ; a lapse.
 1704. Robert Baldwin, by Charles, Lord Townsend.
 1707. Peter Guthry, by ditto.
 1720. John Athil, by Lord Townsend.

(c) VICARS OF EAST AND WEST RUDHAM.

1721. Robert Spencer, by Lord Townshend.
 1762. Mr. Thomas Burslem, ditto.
 1771. Lancaster Framlingham, ditto.
 1785. Joseph Faulder, ditto.
 1786. Folliott Herbert Walker Cornewall, ditto.
 1788. Charles Lucas Edridge, ditto.
 1805. Thomas Bland, ditto.
 1851. Valentine Samuel Barry Blacker, ditto.
 1858. Francis Pye Willington, ditto.
 1867. Francis Garrett Wilson, ditto.
 1886. Robert W. Wortley, ditto.
 1896. Hugh John Dukinfield Astley, ditto, the present Vicar.

(d) PRIORS OF COXFORD.

Matthew de Caineto was the first Prior.
 Herebert, or Hubert, occurs Prior in the tenth of Richard I, and fourth of Henry III.
 William, occurs seventeenth Henry III.
 Adam de Dalling, occurs in the reign of Henry I, Ao. 29.
 John, occurs Prior thirty-fourth and forty-first Henry III.
 Hugh de Elmham, occurs in the fourteenth Edward I.
 William de Hempton, elected Prior, 1315.
 John Thorp, died Prior 1342, and John de Thornham elected that year.
 Peter de Tekenhow, elected in 1346, on Thornham's resignation.
 Henry de Elmham was Prior about 1369.
 John de Walsingham, elected in 1404.
 Edmund de Snetisham, occurs in 1430 and resigned.
 John de Dereham elected 1438.
 Edmund de Snetisham, elected again on Dereham's death, 1449.

John Wichingham, succeeded and resigned in 1463, when John Knollys *alias* Clement was elected; and on his death in 1478, Henry Mileham was elected, and occurs Prior in 1498. John Matthews occurs Prior in 1534, with John Nevill, and eight other canons.

APPENDIX III.

THE PARISH REGISTERS.

The Registers of both parishes are well preserved.

East Rudham commences 1566.

West „ „ 1565.

The following interesting Notes are contained in the Oldest Register Book of West Rudham, 1565-1653:—

On p. 2 of cover:—

“West Rudham Register Booke kept from the feast of the annunciation of the Virgin Mary in the year of our Lord God 1565, et Anno Regni Elizabethæ. 7^o, of all the Baptisms, Marriages, and Burialls that have been there to the present yeare, which be sought out of the Old Registers, written by the ... Vicar there at that instant . . . as followeth:—

Andrew Pilkington, 1583.

Richard Kettlewell, 1616.

John Rowbotham, 1625.

Thomas Rowbotham,
West Rudham.

On p. 31:—

A memoriall of some (historical facts ?) as to the Parish of West Rudham, collected by John Robotham, incumbent, Anno Domini 1626.

Md.—The chancel was built¹ by the Prior and Convent of Coxford Abbey in the year 1456 (as witnessed by an inscription ?) the first sentence yet legible on the . . . (?) *Orate pro bono statu Edmundi de Snetesham honorandi Prioris de Coxford et ejus . . . (?) conventus qui istam cancellam de novo fieri fecerunt, anno milles^{mo}. cccclvi^{to}.*

Md.—Peter Stanclif, Vicar of ys church was in ye daies of Q. Mary enforced to put away his wife, who thereupon married to another man; but (when Q. Elizabeth came to the crown) he took her again from her second husband. He lieth buried near ye north door of ye church, with this inscription yet legible over the door, Peter Stanclif, Vicar of ²

¹ This should be “rebuilt.”

² It will have been observed that, in 1554, William Blackey was appointed Vicar; so that in 1558, “when Queen Elizabeth came to the crown,” and Peter Stanclif resumed his wife, he was no longer Incumbent, though he seems to have continued living in West Rudham, and was styled “Vicar” on the inscription.

Md.—Marmaduke Cholmeley was Vicar here, Anno Do. 1565.

Md.—The church wal was cast, and sentences of scripture written thereon, anno 1575, as appeareth by the figures yet legible on the wal.

Md.—Andrew Pilkington was Vicar here, anno 1583, and held this living and Massingham, where he lived and where he died, Anno 1616.

Md.—Richard Kettlewel was settled in this Vicarage Anno 1616, which he held, together with East Rudham, where he died, Anno 1624 December.

Md.—John Robotham was presented to this Vicarage by Sir Roger Townshend Anno 1625, and received institution from Bishop Harsnet.¹ In which year the desk was new made by Mr. Daniell,² and a new pulpit set up by the Parish.

Md.—1627 Sir Roger Townshend the Patron gave al the Parsonage tithe belonging to the Rectory of West Rudham (both of abbey lands and others) to the p'sent incumbent, John Robotham and afterwards confirmed them to him by Indenture during his life.

Md.—1630 the new barn (intended for a parsonage barn) was built by Sir Roger Townshend, and the roof (?) of it at ye charge of the Incumbent 1634. The great bel was new cast, and weigheth now nine hundred forty and seven (?) pounds. Anno 1626. The communion table was railed in.

In another hand :—

1640. Memorandum. { that Michael Mills was presented to this Vicarage by our Sovereign Lord King Charles, by reason of the minority of Roger Townshend : Baronet, gent., the true and undoubted patron of the said Vicarage for that p'sentation (?) received institution from Bishop Mountague, and (?) actual and p'sonall possession given by John R. . . . (?)³ Vicar of East Rudham, the flowerth day of febr : 1640.

In another hand, and in red ink :—

Md.—That Anno 1645 March 15 the book of common prayer was taken away. That Anno p'dicto March 22, the Directory for the public worship of God was first used.

¹ Note : [later hand] :—“ of Chigwell.”

² Mr. Daniell died seized of the manors of Ferrars and Northall, January 10th, 1636.

³ John Ramsey (see p. 138).

I find mention of the burial of Henry Russell, who died the 3rd September, 1606, as stated on the Brass in the church, on the 7th September of the same year. There are numerous references to other members of the Russell family between the years 1567 and 1640, and also to members of the family of Daniell.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on "Broomsthorpe."—This hamlet, called in the *Survey* "Brunesthorpe," and in the Charter "torp de vivario" (see pp. 110 and 127), is still a separate Parish, though the church, dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, was in ruins in the days of Queen Elizabeth. There is now nothing left of it. The inhabitants, about sixteen in number, attend East Rudham Church, and the Parish goes with the Rudhams. This manor belonged at the *Survey* to the Abbey of Ely, whence it passed to the Pinkneys about 1160. The advowson of the church belonged to the Priory of Sempringham, *temp.* Edward I, by the gift of one of the Pinkneys, and was valued at four marks, and paid 7*d.* Peter's Pence. This continued down to 1532 (cf. p. 132), when it passed to Coxford Priory, and at the Dissolution to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. John Croome was Vicar in 1481, and John Meudham in 1529. The 23 acres which are stated (p. 132) to have been held by the Prior of Sempringham "in pure and perpetual alms," and to have belonged to the church of this parish, have been altogether alienated. I suppose they disappeared at the Dissolution.

The temporalities of Coxford Priory, here and in Tatterset in 1428, were valued at £6 6*s.* 8*d.* In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 26 Henry VIII, the Rectory was valued at £3 3*s.* 4*d.*

NOTE.—My thanks are due to the Proprietors of the *Norwich Mercury* for the views of East and West Rudham Churches; to Mr. Patrick for the series of drawings illustrative of the architectural and other objects of interest in the churches, except those on pp. 112 and 125, which were drawn by Miss Kitton, of East Rudham; the view of Coxford Priory is from a photograph kindly lent by Mrs. Day; and the Cross on the south transept of East Rudham Church is from photographs kindly lent by Dr. Manby.

ERRATUM.—Page 105, text, line 4; note 1, line 4: St. Hilda has slipped in here by an oversight. King Anna only had four daughters. St. Hilda was, however, connected with the Royal Family of East Anglia, being sister to Hereswith, the Queen of Ethelhere, brother and successor to King Anna. These ladies were both of the Royal Family of Northumbria.





PORTA NIGRA : THE TREASURE OF TRÉVES.

BY T. CATO WORSFOLD, F.R.Hist.S., F.R.S.L.



RESIDING on the right bank of the Moselle, sixty miles to the south-west of Coblenz and about ninety miles from Cologne on the south, stands ancient Tréves, or Trier of to-day, now the principal city of an important district of the Rhine, and formerly known in the Roman world under the resounding title of Colonia Augusta Treverorum. It is, in truth, a most quaint city of the past, flourishing in the present ; and as one enters it, crossing the ancient bridge which tradition declares was built by the Romans A.D. 28, and identifies with the Moselle bridge mentioned by Tacitus as existing here in his history of the Batavian War A.D. 78, one seems to have gone back at least four hundred years in the flight of time, to find the past living in the present, so numerous and splendid are the relics of a historical past, brought before even the most casual observer. An early tradition puts the foundation of this grand old town at thirteen hundred years before that of Rome, when, gravely states the ancient chronicler of the *Gesta Treverorum*, with all the delightful minuteness of his time, " Abraham was seven years old ;" adding, with further detail, that the builder was Trebeta or Trebetas, son of the Assyrian king Ninus, who, fleeing from the wrath of his stepmother, Semiramis, after going to and fro upon the earth, ultimately in the course of his wanderings, attracted by the lovely valley of the Moselle, settled here, and became the father of the Treviri. An allusion to this occurs in the description above the gateway of the ancient Rothes

Haus in the market-place, a late Gothic erection of the fifteenth century, formerly used as the Rathhaus. Here he who runs may read: "Ante Romam Treviris stetit annis mille trecentis Perstet et eterna pace fruatur Amen," which may be rendered in English: "Trier existed One thousand three hundred years before Rome; may it last and enjoy eternal peace."

Whatever may be the date of the foundation of the city, opinions certainly vary as to whether the Treviri were of Celtic or Teutonic stock. It is true St. Jerome records that the tongue of the Treviri of the fourth century had a marked resemblance to the language of the Gauls in Asia; but even if this testimony is accepted as to their Celtic origin, it must be borne in mind that the Treviri had, even then, been for a considerable period under the influence of extensive Teutonic environment. Thus writes the Father in the introduction to his second book of Commentaries on the Epistle to the Galatians: "Unum est quod inserimus et promissum in exordio reddimus, Galatas, excepto sermone Græco quo omnis Oriens loquitur, propriam linguam eandem pene habere quam Treviros nec referre se aliqua exinde corruerint, quam et Afri Phœnicum linguam nonnulla ex parte mutaverint, et ipso Latinitas et regionibus quotidie mutetur et tempore."

(Note that Jerome here refers to the Phœnician as the non-Latin language of Africa, passing over the native dialects.)

Passing to Cæsar, that most practical of all chroniclers, we find that, in the year 58 B.C., he recognised their bravery as a fighting race, and that their cavalry was the most efficient in all Gaul (*Bell. Gall.*, ii, 24, v. 3; viii, 25, 1-37; vii, 63, v. 2, 55).

The Roman town itself, the Colonia Augusta, was probably founded by Augustus, and became a military colony under the Emperor Claudius, being made a part of the Provincia Gallia Belgica, and the headquarters of a procurator, rapidly reaching a position of opulence and importance, which gained for it from Ausonius, in the fourth century, the title of "Rome beyond the Alps." Surrounded then as now by vineyards clustering upon



PORTA NIGRA ; FROM THE TOWN.

the sunny hills and smiling valleys, there is but little doubt the poet appreciated Tréves and those delicate vintages of the Moselle for which, at all times, the town has been famous. Thus he speaks in his *Urbes Nobiles* :—

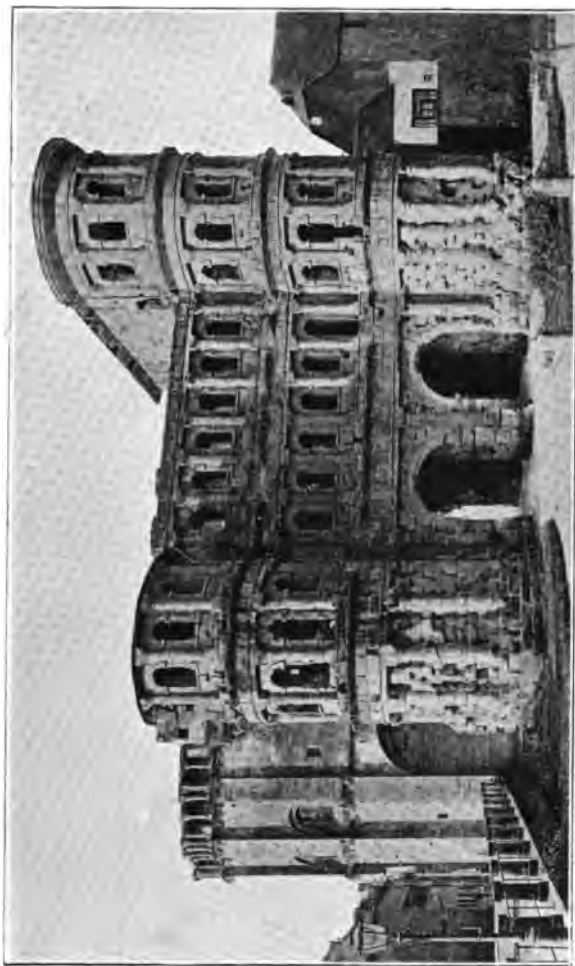
“Armipotens dudum celebrari Gallia gestit,
Treverique urbis solium quæ proxima Rheno
Pacis ut in medio gremio segura, quiescit.”

The city was embellished from time to time by the Roman Emperors with splendid buildings as monuments of their power and wealth, and it is with ever-deepening interest that an intelligent observer of the manners and customs of a bygone age contemplates the Circus Maximus which, situated just outside the town, and capable of seating some fifty thousand persons, recalls the grim fate of the Frankish kings Ragaise and Ascarich, who, with thousands of their followers, were here torn to pieces by wild beasts at the command of the Emperor Constantine in 306, and then passes to that imposing pile of ruins which, even in the desolation of destroying ages, shows in all directions the magnificence of the palace where Imperial Cæsar in softer mood held sway.

Again, attention is claimed by the lofty basilica which, built entirely of Roman bricks about the end of the third or commencement of the fourth century, after serving in earlier days as a hall of justice and for meetings of merchants, became in succession a palace for kings and archbishops, to be finally consecrated as a Protestant church in 1856 ; whilst a short distance away, the extensive Roman baths of St. Barbara (660 ft. in length) afford a further field of investigation to the ardent archæologist. Then, again, the Cathedral claims our attention, as probably the oldest church in the North of Europe (about 375-85 A.D.), and admittedly the most important instance of pre-Carlovingian building in Germany. Here is kept, in a secret place known to the Chapter alone, the “Holy Coat” of the Saviour, said to have been presented to the Cathedral by the Empress Helena on her return from the Holy Land. It is shown at rare intervals to the faithful, who then, however, flock in thousands to behold it.

But we leave the Cathedral, with the adjacent and equally attractive but smaller Liebfrauenkirche on our right, and as we pass through the quaint old market-place towards the north there rises before us that magnificent relic of Roman might known as the Porta Nigra, and bearing also the other Latin name of Porta Martis, and the German title of Simeonsthor or Römerthor. This grand and imposing pile is constructed of immense blocks of lias sandstone from the quarries in the neighbouring forest of Pfälzel, which were clamped together with iron braces in the olden time, though only two or three of these remain to-day to show us how the great gate was held together without mortar.

The Porta Nigra is practically a huge fortified gateway, 115 ft. long, 75 ft. to 93 ft. high, and some 30 ft. in depth, having two four-storied towers protruding on the side extending to the country, in the shape of a crescent. The tower on the east, which appears to be unfinished, is connected with the other one by two double galleries on the third story. Its construction is remarkably similar to that of the ordinary Roman fortified camp, and the building was undoubtedly intended for defence; a very important and most interesting feature being the *propugnaculum*, a court between the outer gate giving access to the country, and the inner one admitting to the town. Here, for an attacking party would be found the most critical moment of their assault; for, if successful in carrying the first gate, the enemy would find himself with yet another and stronger door to overcome; whilst from the inner windows and loopholes, and from the turrets and galleries giving on the town, the besieged party could rain showers of stones, boiling lead, and arrows upon the foe, crowded in the inner court before the second and opposing gate. Surveying this wonderful structure which, in spite of what we know of modern guns and their powers, still carries a very solid conviction of its vast defensive strength, the appreciative mind naturally seeks for the date of its erection—the method of its building. The most recent theory refers it to the first century of the Christian era; but, on the other hand, the unfinished



PORTA NIGRA ; OUTSIDE ENTRANCE.

appearance in certain details, such as the capitals, gives considerable basis to the hypothesis that it was erected about the commencement of the fourth century. The loss of fortified territory on the Rhine made it necessary to set up defences to maintain the empire against the rush of its Teutonic foes ; and thus in its very strength has the Porta Nigra remained a monument of the Roman weakness. In support of this theory, too, we have the fact that many of the blocks of sandstone used in the construction of the Porta Nigra bear the same marks and letters, such as "A. G. E.," "S. E. C.," etc., which I also observed on the stones of the Roman Baths or Thermæ, and the latter appear undoubtedly to have been constructed when an Emperor of Rome dwelt at Tréves.

Whilst on the subject of the foundation and strength of the great Gate, I may point out that, standing without an equal, even in Rome itself, it nevertheless has a marked similarity in style to the Porta Maggiore, or Claudian Gate, in the Imperial City. The name of Simeonsthor, sometimes applied to the Porta Nigra, is due to the fact that from 1020 to 1035, a Greek hermit named Simeon resided as an ascetic in the East Tower. Subsequently, Archbishop Poppo turned the edifice into two superposed churches, blending the different styles of round arch architecture together in a somewhat singular fashion. The lower of these two churches was dedicated to St. Mary and St. Michael, and the upper, appropriately, to St. Simeon ; and by wholly blocking up the lower arches, the Archbishop constructed a massive flight of stairs giving access to the Church of St. Simeon in the olden times, from the town outside. Traces of the mural decorations of these churches are still to be seen ; whilst in the interior, on the ground and first floors, architectural fragments, stone coffins, and shattered pieces of sculpture found in or about the spot, mark in silent manner the march of time in the history of the grand old Gate.

Passing to more recent times : in 1804 orders were given by Napoleon for the restoration of the buildings which, begun that year, were completed in 1817, the event being celebrated by the ceremonial entry into

Tréves through the great Gate, of Frederick William IV, then Prince Royal of Prussia. In 1876 the soil, which had accumulated to a considerable extent, was levelled to the surface of the original foundations ; and to-day the Porta Nigra rises from the ground, blackened by age, but still superior to the assaults of time and man ; sturdy and massive as when, before its rugged strength, the fierce onslaught of Frankish hordes recoiled, defeated and dismayed, some seventeen hundred years ago. Long may it continue "The Treasure of Tréves."





KIRBY MUXLOE CASTLE.

BY J. A. GOTCH, F.S.A.



ALTHOUGH this building is usually called a castle, it is not a castle in the sense of being a military stronghold ; it is, in reality, a fortified dwelling-house. But castles and fortified dwelling-houses had a certain amount in common so far as their arrangements were concerned, and the wide distinction between a castle and a house, which most people carry in their minds, ought to be largely obliterated ; for the greater number of the castles which were built in early times were primarily dwelling-houses, and were strongly fortified, because the state of society demanded it. But, as the state of society grew less turbulent, the need for fortification grew correspondingly less, and the attention bestowed upon comfort and convenience grew correspondingly larger. The centre of the domestic part of all houses, whether much or little fortified, was the great hall. This apartment in early times was as carefully protected as the rest of the building, but as the demand for comfort increased, the extremely dull effect of the hall, caused by the small windows and ponderous masonry necessary for purposes of defence, was found highly disagreeable. The hall, therefore, was placed in a wing of the building, with a court on either side of it ; and as, in its new position, its windows no longer looked out into the open country, they were made larger and more cheerful. In course of time it became no longer needful to pay so much attention to defence, and the hall was once more placed on the outer walls, sufficient protection being afforded by the

moat, which in flat districts always surrounded the house.

At Warwick Castle the hall is on an outer wall, but the ground falls so abruptly down to the river that little danger was to be anticipated from that side. At Oxburgh and Hengrave, and other moated dwellings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the hall is on an outer wall; and it must be understood that all these

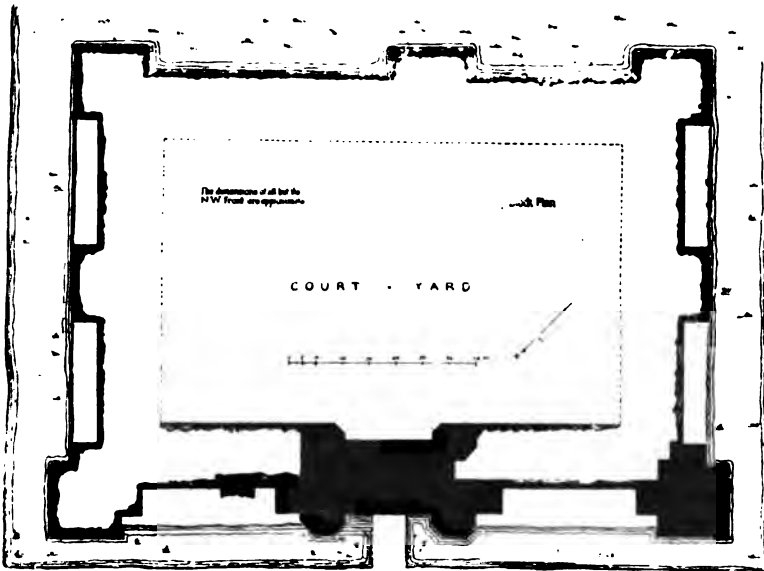


View from Courtyard, June 16th, 1900.

houses, which were of considerable size, were built round a court.

Now, how do these remarks bear upon Kirby Muxloe? We have here the remains of a fortified house, which was built round a court, and was surrounded by a moat. Unfortunately, nine-tenths at least of the house has disappeared, and it is not the domestic part which has survived, but the portions adapted for defence. The moat remains, and the outline of the outer walls, but there is very little left of them; what is left is over-

grown with trees, and the moat, although it might not present great difficulties in a case of life and death, is quite sufficiently wet to prevent an examination of the remains of the walls from the outside. Anything, therefore, in the shape of restoration must be largely conjectural. What is quite clear is, that the building was rectangular and symmetrical. The entrance-gatehouse, which is the most important part left, stood in the centre of the front. At each of the four corners was a tower, probably similar to that which still remains.



Half way down each side was another projection, most likely in the shape of a tower; while opposite to the entrance, but not quite on the axial line, was another projection. These lofty masses at the four corners, and half way down each face, were connected by a lower two-storey building. So much we can infer from what we find here, and we know from other buildings that such a disposition was what might be expected.

I am inclined to think that the hall was placed immediately opposite to the entrance-gatehouse, and that the projection on that face represents the bay window at the dais end of the hall, which would help to account for

its being out of the centre. The moat also being considerably wider on that side, seems to point towards the hall being there, inasmuch as the greater width would be supposed to give greater security.

This, however, is only conjecture, and we may well turn to something more certain, and examine a little more closely the actual remains. It will be seen that this building differs in many respects from the two which I have already had the honour of describing to you, namely, Burghley House and Haddon Hall. Kirby Muxloe occupies a place between those two. Burghley is the outcome of the ever-increasing tendency towards civilisation and comfort which marked the sixteenth century. It is a splendid mansion, in which any thought of defence finds no place. Haddon Hall was the gradual growth of centuries, and the thought of defence permeates it throughout. Kirby Muxloe was not the growth of centuries, but was built at one effort, at a time when defence of a kind was still needful. As to its date, there is no record to fix it; but, judging by the work itself, the symmetrical arrangement points to a fairly late date; the detail, which is entirely Gothic, points to its not being very late. That is to say, the entire absence of anything like Renaissance detail indicates that it must have been built before A.D. 1500, and the symmetrical disposition seems to preclude its being much earlier than 1450. So we may safely place it at some period of the last half of the fifteenth century.

In another respect it differs from those other two houses, in that it is built of brick, whereas they are built of stone. At Burghley there is a considerable amount of ornament, because the stone is of a kindly nature; at Haddon the work is much more severe, because the stone is much more difficult to work. Both these houses are in stone districts. This one is in a brick county, and although there is plenty of stone in the neighbourhood, it is of a hard nature, and you will find that it has been sparingly used, only the central block having stone dressings to its doors and windows; and you will also find that the detail is rather large and simple.

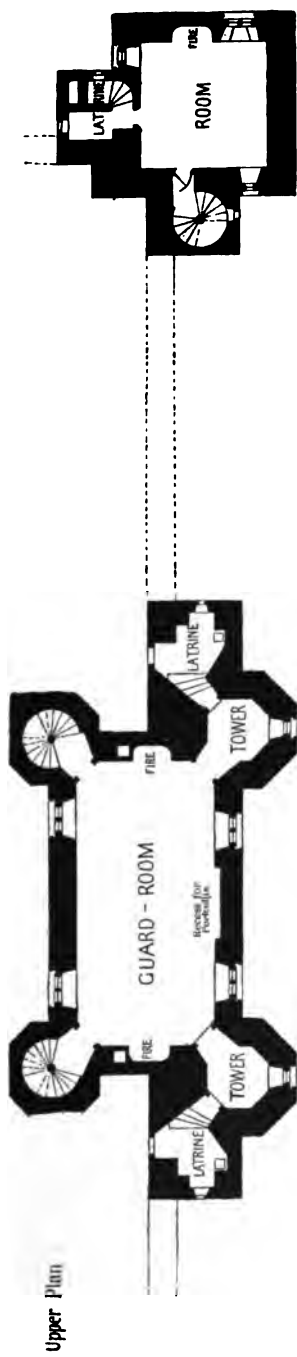
By whom was the house built? There is nearly always some kind of indication on these old houses, in the shape, if not of the actual date, yet of heraldry or initials, or both, carved in the stonework: but here there is very little carved stonework, and what there is gives no clue. The niche over the entrance-gateway has a foliated border, and the pedestal within it has on each face a quatrefoil enclosing a shield. Here, if anywhere, ought to be a clue; but the shields, if ever they were carved, have nothing to distinguish them now, and the eye consults them in vain. A closer scrutiny of the brickwork, however, brings some relief. There is a blue brick diaper, worked chiefly in a diamond pattern, over most of the walls. Time has done much to assimilate the colours of the red and the blue, but just over the gateway to the left of the niche, can be detected, worked in the blue bricks, a w, and on the right another letter, partly mutilated, which might be an H. The eye travels curiously over the surrounding surfaces in search of further help, but none comes until, reaching the canted face of the right-hand octagonal turret, it is enabled to decipher a maunch, the heraldic form of a sleeve. This settles the matter, for the maunch was the cognizance of the Hastings family, and the initials over the archway are w. H., which stand for Sir William Hastings, who succeeded his father in 1456, was a devoted adherent of Edward IV, was made Baron Hastings of Ashby de la Zouche in 1461, and was beheaded by Richard III in 1483.

These dates confirm the conjectural date of building, and limit to it some year between 1456 and 1483. If no coronet can be discovered in the diaper, the limit might almost be reduced to the five years between 1456 and 1461, at which latter date Sir William Hastings became entitled to display one.

There is more diaper on the corner towers, and in the parapet is a pattern of great obscurity, but which a careful scrutiny might possibly resolve into something of interest. There is a tradition, mentioned by Parker in his *Domestic Architecture*, that the house was built by Lord Hastings for Jane Shore; but this is hardly likely, as it not only bears his own initials and device, but also

on the corner tower, a Latin cross on a base, all worked in the diaper ; and it is improbable that he would have thus adorned a building designed for the residence of the lady above mentioned.

There are, therefore, no historical associations connected with the house ; it is not actually on record when it was built, nor when left to fall to decay and ruin ; all we can learn from it is something of the manners of the end of the fifteenth century, and those not so much of the lord as of his retainers. The moat was crossed by a draw-bridge, for the plain sunk space above the entrance archway was the place into which the further end of the bridge fitted when it was raised ; and the two holes, now rudely enlarged, just above this space, are the holes through which the chains which raised the bridge passed on their way to the winch, or whatever machine it was that raised it. There was also a portcullis ; for the grooves down which it rattled are there to be seen, as well as the recess which received it in the large room over the archway, when it was drawn up (see plans). The small circular holes which look out in various directions from the front, the octagonal turrets and the corner towers, were intended for cannon ; the holes are of a size just sufficient for the mouth of the gun, and they are low down, so that it could stand on the floor. Not such a piece of ordnance as we read of to-day, which could carry from this place right over Leicester and put an army to flight on the other side, but one that might have carried across the field, and would certainly have been an annoyance to any one approaching the gateway. The gateway itself is wide enough to admit a wheeled vehicle, and was furnished at each end with a ponderous pair of gates, of which the massive hanging-hooks still remain ; on either side of the gateway is a room for the accommodation of the guard and of the porter, the latter being provided with a window overlooking the gateway, so that no one, even in quiet times, could pass unseen. From each of these rooms a door leads into the octagonal tower which was occupied by the cannon, and thence to a well-preserved latrine or garderobe. From these rooms, by passing through the gateway into the open court, and turning either to the left or the right, a staircase was gained, which led into a



COURT-YARD.



REMAINS OF KIRBY MUXLOE CASTLE. PLANS OF GROUND AND UPPER FLOORS.

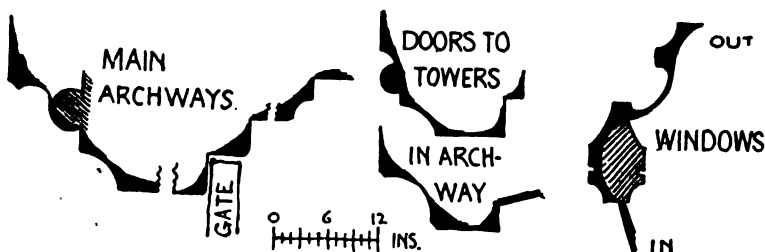
large chamber or guard-room on the first floor, occupying the whole space between the octagonal turrets, furnished with a large fireplace at each end, and provided with a few windows. Out of this, again, access was obtained to the towers and the latrines beyond. This room was the place where the machinery for working the portcullis and drawbridge stood, and was the resort of the men who guarded the entrance.

There is nothing else left in the central block, but the stairs led up to another floor (or floors). Between it and the corner towers was a range of rooms with fireplaces and windows, but of their special use and their disposition nothing much can be said. The corner comprises a large room (18 ft. square) on each floor with fireplace and windows, a sanitary block, and a circular staircase; the ground floor has two small windows, and some embrasures for cannon; on the upper floors the windows are larger, and some of them are provided with stone seats on either side of the window-recess, upon which the retainers of four centuries ago may have wiled away many a dull and weary hour. In one of the octagonal turrets is another window, small, and of only one light, still retaining its heavy crossed iron bars, and the hooks upon which the shutters hung which served instead of glass to keep out the weather. But, by the time this house was built, glass was beginning to come into more general use; and you will find that, whether it was ever put into these windows or not, the masons had provided a groove in their stonework to receive it.

Another feature which was becoming general was the fireplace; and each of the large rooms here has one. But so late as 1500, in the royal palace built for Henry VII at Richmond, the hall fire was in the middle of the floor, and the smoke found its way out through the lantern on the roof. Judging by the moulded bricks round the openings of the fireplaces and the doors, there was no intention of plastering the walls. These, no doubt—at any rate, in the better rooms—were to be covered with tapestry. But none of the better rooms are left to help us towards a decision. Except for the moulded brick round them, the fireplaces are quite plain; there is no attempt at ornament, such as was so frequent in the next

age. In fact, the whole detail is plain and simple; even the chimney-shafts, which in Henry VII's reign were so highly wrought, are here almost plain. They have no pronounced base, and the necking and caps, so far as they remain, are quite simple in outline. The vaulting of the rooms is also quite devoid of detail. In stone buildings there are generally vaulting ribs, and the corbels from which they spring; but here we have merely plain barrel vaulting, or, in the case of the octagonal turrets, dome vaulting equally plain. It is only on the corner tower that any chimney-shafts are left; they spring out of the battlemented parapet, and indicate that the original height of these towers is what we see to-day. What the height of the central tower was, we cannot tell. It may have soared up four, five, or more stories, like Layer Marney, and Oxburgh; but the probability is that it was not so ambitious, and that its height was somewhat the same as that of the corner towers.

There is little more to be said. I wish the remains were more extensive, so that conjecture might have given place to reasonable certainty. But what is left is in a fairly good state of preservation, so that something can be learnt of the habits of former days. How long the place was a home nobody knows, nor whether cannon ever did belch forth their contents on hostile visitors; judging by the absence of much wear-and-tear, it would almost seem as though the place was not in use for a long period as a human habitation. It is in use now, but cattle of another kind live within its walls; and the occupant most to be dreaded by those who seek to invade its seclusion is a young and handsome bull.



Details of Mouldings.



Proceedings of the Congress.

(Concluded from p. 64.)

THURSDAY, AUGUST 2ND.

THIS day was devoted to a perambulation of the town of Leicester, and an inspection of its most noted objects of interest, under the guidance of the Honorary Secretaries of the Leicestershire Archæological Society. The first visit paid was to St. Margaret's Church, which was described by the Rev. Canon Rendell, the Vicar. A church is said to have been founded here in 731, as the seat of a bishop, whose simple dwelling stood near by. The present church was founded by Robert Bossu, second Earl of Leicester. There are remains of Late Transitional work (*circa* 1190) in the eastern respond of the first arch. The south aisle and south arcade are Early English, 1250, while the south doorway is a little later. The north aisle and north arcade, with two curious trefoil windows above the chancel arch, date from about 1300, while the chancel, tower, porch, clerestory, and vestry with hagioscope, were erected about 1400 to 1450. North of the altar, within the sacarium, is a fine monument to Bishop Penny, Abbot of Leicester, and Bishop of Bangor and Carlisle. A remarkable huddled-up figure, in the niche to the north of the east window, is said to represent Robert Bossu. Bell-founding was an industry in Leicester during three centuries, and for the most part in one family—that of Newcombe. The six bells of St. Margaret's were cast by a Thomas Newcombe, who died in 1594. His monument is in the church, bearing three bells above his name. The road leading from St. Margaret's westwards is called *Sanvy Gate*, evidently a corruption of *Sancta Via*, from the fact that the processions of Guilds and Pilgrims passed along it. The next church visited was that of All Saints, an interesting little building, also founded by Robert Bossu in 1199. A curious clock, with two figures which strike the hours, formerly in the west front, has been restored and placed over the south porch under a small gable, which hardly affords sufficient protection against the weather.

Passing the old Grammar School in High Cross Street, in which a capital collection of antiquities—chiefly Roman, and almost rivalling the Museum, belonging to Mr. John Spurway, a citizen of Leicester—was inspected, the party proceeded to the ancient church of St. Nicholas, at the eastern end of which is the district known as “Holy Bones,” said to have been the scene of sacrifices in Roman days, and later of martyrdom at the time of the Reformation, while at the west end are the remains of a wall of Roman construction, known as the Jewry Wall, which have been often described, and are well known. The church was described in a most elaborate and fascinating Paper by Mr. Chas. Lynam, F.S.A., Hon. Treasurer. This Paper will be published. There are three bells, one inscribed “I. H. S. Nazarenus Rex, 1656. G. Oldfield.”

After a brief visit to the Roman pavement discovered in 1898 (as described and illustrated in the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, vol. iv, N. S., pp. 289-291), with its beautiful guilloche border, geometrical pattern, and central Peacock figure, partly destroyed—the whole suffering also, as was noticed with regret, from the depredations of visitors—the party inspected the old hall of the Guild of Corpus Christi, the windows of which still contain some ancient glass; and the old Town Hall, where Shakespere is said to have played; and thence proceeded to St. Martin’s Church, which was described by the Vicar. This was the municipal and corporation Church, as St. Margaret’s was the ecclesiastical. Here the archdeacon held his court, in the south aisle, which was formerly that of the Guild of Corpus Christi. The Guild of St. George also had a chapel in this church, at the west end of the south aisle. Over its altar used to be an equestrian figure of St. George, which was carried in procession on the festival day (April 23rd), and there is an entry in the churchwardens’ accounts for 1540 of its sale by them. These accounts are perfect, and complete from the Reformation.

Here Mr. Andrew Oliver read the following Notes on some Heraldic Monuments in St. Martin’s Church:—

“Amongst the tombs and monuments which are to be found here, attention should be drawn to certain examples, viz., the mural monument, with the half-effigies which are placed under a canopy of Renaissance detail, and the slabs which bear certain coats-of-arms in the east wall of the south aisle, and those which are to be found in the north chapel of the chancel on the north wall. The coats on the east wall of the chancel, and the first from the west end of the chapel, are similar.

“The examples show the helm and mantling, with the crest over the

helm, the shields bearing the arms being underneath the mantling in each case. The mantlings, it will be seen, show great boldness in the cutting. At the east end are two incised slabs, one bearing the date 1585. There is another mural shield just over the screen next to the organ, and another one on the north side of the chapel."

In this churchyard, as in many others at Leicester, there are many grave-stones of slate with, in a number of cases, very artistic designs in incised ornaments, sometimes coloured and gilt. There appears to have been a school of artists in slate who did this work, even as late as 1640. The church is said to stand on the site of the Roman temple of Diana, and many bones and other relics have been found.



Sedilia, St. Mary's, Leicester.
(Photo. by J. Burton and Sons.)

After lunch, which was much appreciated after the hard work of the morning, the Roman Pavement, which is now under the Great Central Station, was visited ; after which a move was made to the church of St. Mary de Castro, situated within the Castle precincts. This was described by Col. Bellairs. The church is a splendid structure, and was founded by Robert de Beaumont, father of Robert Bossu, in 1107. Many Norman details may be seen in the present walls. The south aisle is disproportionately large, but this is due to its having been the parish church, while the nave and chancel were originally conventual.

The triple sedilia, of which Mr. I. C. Gould has kindly provided the accompanying illustration, constitute the finest Norman remains of this interesting church, and are thus described by Mr. Chas. Lynam, F.S.A., Hon. Treasurer :—

"The Sedilia in the chancel of St. Mary's Church, Leicester, are

referred to in Parker's *Glossary*, 3rd Edit., 1840, as being of Norman date, and one of the few early examples now remaining. Churches of Norman erection were thickly spread over every part of England, but many have been superseded by those of later dates. With the churches, their early details were for the most part discarded; but in many instances of Norman doorways, their charm of design and elaboration were, happily, too much for the hand of the destroyer, and they remain very often to this day, even to post-Reformation rebuildings, testifying to the previous existence of a church of their date.

"At the Church of St. Mary, at Leicester, this very perfect example of Late Transition sedilia still remains. They consist of three graduated seats, divided and margined by pairs of shafts carrying semi-circular arches. The caps and faces of the arches are elaborately carved; the latter with a multiplication of zig-zag in refined relief, and the former in geometric and foliated forms; a suggestion of the Early-English dog-tooth being indicated.

"The general feature is just what the Norman artist delighted in: semi-circular arcading, with pillar and arch and shaded recess. He never tired of these elements, but treated them as variously as circumstance demanded. His ponderous nave arcade-triforium, with bright light and deep shadow; clerestory of changeful form and vaulted cover, and his simple wall veil, all came to him with welcome and with grace. This fragment of Leicester may well be treasured, though not free from certain handling by a modern tool."

A visit to the Castle, part of which is now used as the Court-house, to the mound which is all that remains of the Norman keep, and to the Trinity Hospital—founded in 1330 by Henry, Earl of Lancaster, but of which the present building is all modern—brought a long and most interesting day to a close.

At the evening meeting Mr. I. C. Gould read a valuable Paper, entitled, "Notes on Early Fortifications," which has been published, pp. 15 to 38. Another Paper by Dr. Brushfield on, "A Leicester Church Brief of 1640," was read in the author's absence by the Rev. H. J. Dukinfield-Astley, and will be published in due course.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 3RD.

To-day the Association joined in a united excursion with the Leicester Architectural and Archæological Society, under the guidance of Mr. Thomas Harrold. The start was made in carriages and brakes at

10 A.M. by a large party, in spite of most unfavourable weather, for Market Bosworth and Bosworth Field. The first halt was made at Newbold Verdon, built about 1680, where the moated Manor-house was visited, but a much more interesting Elizabethan house, with projecting porch and upper room, was passed at Desford on the way.

At Market Bosworth the Grammar School, rendered memorable because Dr. Johnson was once an usher there, was inspected, after which a visit was paid to the Church. This has been well restored. The tower arch is a beautiful example of Transitional style of the early fourteenth century, the arch itself being Early English, while the mouldings are Decorated. After lunch, the drive was continued to Bosworth Field, the principal features of the great battle being ably pointed out and described by Mr. Harrold. In opposition to Mr. Gairdner, Mr. Harrold clearly proved that not only Richmond, but Richard III. also, had a morass on his right: *i.e.*, there was one on the right flank of each army. Four hundred years have made an enormous change in the aspect of the country—hedges and fields exist now when all was open common then, and the smiling country looks as though it could never have known the “bloody gage of battle.” The one small monument of the fight was viewed with interest—a pyramid of stone, 10 ft. high, erected, it is said, by Dr. Parr, with a Latin inscription, over the well from which Richard drank on that fateful day, August 22nd, 1485.

The drive was resumed *via* Dadlington to Stoke Golding, and thence back to Leicester. A stop was made at Dadlington to examine the church, an old building of no great size, and much spoilt by “restoration.” Many of the ancient roof-timbers have been removed, the clerestory is gone, and the little tower, formerly roofed with timber shingles, is now covered with glaring red tiles. The old oak door, much weather-worn, is now preserved in the vestry at the west end. At Stoke Golding, on the other hand, there is a splendid church, scarcely touched by the hand of the “restorer;” unfortunately, he is said to be on the way, but it is to be devoutly hoped that his ardour may be kept within bounds, and only necessary repairs executed. For this church, as it stands, and with the weathering of six hundred years on its stones, is a magnificent example of one Period throughout, *i.e.*, the Decorated or Geometrical Gothic. It was founded, as an inscription tells us, by “Robert de Champaign and Margaret his wife, in honour of St. Margaret the Virgin, in the time of Edward I,” and the founders’ tomb may be seen in the south aisle. The church consists of nave, chancel, and south aisle (prolonged into a chapel, extending to a level with the east wall of the chancel). There

is a fine west tower and spire. The south aisle originally ended at the chancel arch, and the south wall of the chancel was an exterior one. In this wall there are remains of Early English work, and a beautiful little lancet window, now looking into the chapel. The nave arcade is very fine, the caps of the piers being elaborately adorned with richly-moulded clustered foliage, interspersed with grotesque figures. The western pier bears the representation of marguerites on the cap, and the font tells the story of St. Margaret and St. Catherine. Tea was kindly provided for the visitors by the Rector, Rev. H. Bryan, after which the journey was resumed for Leicester, which was reached about 7.30. In spite of the gale which continued throughout the day, it was agreed that it had been one of the most enjoyable outings of the week.

At the Evening Meeting Mr. Thos. Blashill read a paper on "The Frame-knitters' Company of London," which will be published; this was followed by one on "The Early History of the Stocking-frame," by Mr. W. T. Rowlett, in which the invention of the first stocking machine by the Rev. T. Lee, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and the progress of the industry down to the present day was described. A Paper on "Wickliffe and His Times," by the Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, M.A., was then read by Mr. Geo. Patrick, Hon. Sec., in the author's absence. This Paper will be published.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 4TH.

The weather was fine and bright after the recent rain, and a goodly number of the members left at 9.50 by the Great Central Railway for Lutterworth, of which parish the celebrated Wickliffe was rector from 1375 to 1384. Mr. Patrick, Hon. Sec., read a Paper on the "History of Lutterworth and its Rector," which will be published, and described the church. Lutterworth is mentioned in *Domesday Book*, but there is no record of a church there in Saxon or early Norman times. The present building, in its oldest part, dates from the thirteenth century. It consists of a nave, aisles, chancel, and massive tower at the west end. The tower, up to the middle stage, and the chancel and north aisle are the earliest parts. The rest of the church is of the Early Decorated and Perpendicular periods. The rood-loft was approached from the interior of the church, and a large semicircular recess on the south side of the chancel arch indicates the position of the stairs. This church affords good examples of the various forms of window tracery, some of which

are illustrated in the text-books of Freeman and others. Some interesting examples of mural decoration of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are still preserved here. One, over the north door, consisting of three full-sized figures, two kings, with a lady between them, carrying hawks on their wrists, was considered by the late Mr. Bloxam to represent Edward II and Edward III, but he did not account for the lady. Other interpretations have been suggested, but none are sufficiently conclusive. They may, perhaps, commemorate Richard II and his Queen, Anne of Bohemia, and John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, who claimed to be King of Castile. The wall above the chancel arch is covered with a large painting of the Doom, or Last Judgment, probably not earlier than the fifteenth century.

In this church the great reformer John Wicliffe ministered and worshipped for some years; and it was whilst engaged in the sacred office of the Eucharist that he was seized with his last illness, and died December 28th, 1384. He was buried in the chancel, and his body rested there for forty-four years, when, in fulfilment of the decree of the Council of Constance, his remains were disinterred, burnt, and cast into the river Swift. There is an interesting piece of embroidery preserved in a glass case in the vestry which appears to belong to the fourteenth century, and may have formed a part, it is said, of a vestment worn by Wicliffe, but it is uncertain; and the other relics said to be associated with him—the chair in the chancel and the fine carved oak table in the nave—are several centuries later date; the table particularly is Jacobean, and a fine example. Mr. Andrew Oliver gave a careful description of the Fielding monument in this church, which is an altar-tomb, with two recumbent effigies of a knight and lady in alabaster. Upon the floor close by are two brasses, said to represent the same individuals. Mr. Oliver said: "The figures supposed to represent members of the Fielding family are placed upon an altar-tomb, over which is a four-centred arch, having in the place of the finial a figure of an angel holding a Representation of the Soul. The male figure shows with armour at the elbows and lower arms as far as the wrist, a portion of a breast-plate and gorget, and pointed shoes or "solleretts." Over the figure is worn a large flowing cloak, an anelace secured by a belt being passed through the side. The hair is worn cut short across the forehead. The wife's effigy is also in a cloak, and secured by a cord passing across the breast and terminating in tassels. On the outside is to be seen an "ink-horn and penner." On the opposite side, and on the side of the effigy next to the back of the tomb, there

is a rosary. A veil is thrown over the head. Both the figures have small animals at the feet. The front of the tomb is panelled in seven compartments alternately, a rose and a canopied compartment, the latter containing angels' figures holding shields, from which the heraldic bearings have entirely disappeared. There is neither date nor inscription, but the date may be placed approximately at *circ.* 1460; but the armour being so completely hidden, it is difficult to say exactly. Close to this monument, on the floor, are two small brasses to John Fielding (1402), and his wife, Joanna (1418). They call for no special remark, being characteristic of the period. There is also another small fragment consisting of a butterfly head-dress, *circ.* 1485; the remainder of the effigy and that which accompanied it being now lost."

After strolling about the little town, the party returned to Leicester in time for luncheon.

The final meeting was held in the afternoon at the Museum Buildings. Mr. Lynam, Hon. Treasurer, took the chair, and hearty votes of thanks were unanimously accorded to Mr. R. Smith-Carington, F.S.A., the High Sheriff,¹ to the Mayor and Mayoress of Leicester, to Mr. Perkins Pick, to the officials and members of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society, and to all who by their interest and support had helped to make the visit of the British Archæological Association to Leicester a pleasant and successful one.

¹ Mr. Smith-Carington has since deceased, to the great regret not only of his friends, but of all who met him at Leicester, to whom he made himself especially agreeable by his genial kindness, and keen interest in all that made for the comfort of the party and the success of the Congress.





Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 6TH, 1901.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., F.S.A., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Member was duly elected :—

George Edward Tarver, Esq., 35, High Street, Marylebone, W.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the Library :—

To the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland for "Journal," Pts. 3 and 4, 1900.

„ Cambrian Archæological Association for "Archæologia Cambrensis," vol. i, 6th Ser., Pt. I, 1901.

„ Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society for "Magazine," No. 94, vol. xxxi, 1900.

Some pewter plates of about the middle of the eighteenth century, having an unusual pattern, and bearing the maker's marks (Spackman's) upon them, were exhibited. The coat-of-arms resembles that of Castile, and probably represents the institution or company to which the plates belonged. They were exhibited by Mrs. Collier.

Mr. T. S. Bush exhibited a photograph of a curious circular wooden money-chest, or box, now belonging to St. Peter's Church, Bristol. The box is $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter outside, and 5 in. inside, and is $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. high to the top of the cover, which is raised, or pie-shaped. The box is bound with iron, hinged at the back, and has a strap over the cover with a top plate and ring; the strap is hinged at the front and carried down to the bottom band, forming a hasp over the lockplate, which has three keyholes: one on each side of the strap, or hasp, and one at the bottom, smaller than the other two. There is no slit in the top for dropping in coins, and the box was most probably used for keeping money previously collected, the three locks being for the incumbent and the two churchwardens, so that the box could not be opened except

in the presence of all three. It is said by some people that this curious relic belonged to the mint at Bristol, which adjoined the church, and existed from 1643 to 1698. The box, however, would seem to belong to the second half of the sixteenth century. The accompanying illustration, from a photograph taken by Mr. Little, Narrow Wine Street, Bristol, gives a very good idea of this interesting, and—from the



Unique Money Box, St. Peter's Church, Bristol.

absence of any slit for the reception of money—apparently unique money-box.

A Paper was read by the Rev. H. Dukinfield-Astley, Hon. Editorial Secretary, upon "A Ramble round Thetford," a quaint and fascinating old Norfolk town, or perhaps it should be called city, for it was once an episcopal see. An air of unmistakable antiquity seems to pervade the place, as one wanders through the narrow winding ways and notices the many remains of ancient religious buildings now, alas! demolished,

but still bearing evidence, in their scattered fragments built up in modern dwellings, of the importance of the town in olden times. In the fourteenth century Thetford possessed twenty churches, besides numerous other religious foundations. Thetford is partly in Norfolk and partly in Suffolk, being situated at the confluence of the Little Ouse and the Thet. The local authorities of to day do not appear to possess much regard for the antiquities of their historic town, as, in spite of protests, they have recently pulled down the old Guildhall. Thetford has a very ancient history, going far back into the dim and misty past, when the devious and winding ways leading down to the riverside were cut through the primæval forest by the old Euskarian or Iberian hunters of Neolithic days. In later times the powerful and warlike Ic-eni settled there; and when the Romans came and acquired the Ic-enian realm they found the place pleasant to look upon, as it is to-day, and there they built a town, generally supposed, and, as Mr. Astley argued, correctly, to have been known as Sitomagus, an important station, thirty-one miles from Venta Icenorum, now Castor by Norwich, on the direct line of the Icknield Way to London, as Antonine's *Itinerary* describes it. The Roman remains as yet discovered at Thetford are neither numerous nor important, though there is little doubt as to the identification of the Roman town. The tradition of many an ancient battle fought between the Romano-Britons and Anglians, and afterwards between the Anglians and Danes, still lingers in the rustic mind. The great mound at Thetford, known as the Castle Hill, is said to have been thrown up by the Danes, whose occupation of Thetford was confirmed by Alfred in his treaty with Guthrum, and Thetford became so thoroughly Danish that it is noted as one of those places which never paid Dane-geld. It was in the reign of William the Conqueror that Thetford became, for a brief period, a bishop's see; and in 1091 the great East Anglican church builder, Herbert de Losinga, succeeded as third bishop. He did not, however, long remain at Thetford, as in 1094 he removed the see to Norwich. The later history of Thetford, with a full account of the various religious foundations, brought the Paper, which will be published, to a close.

In the discussion which followed the Paper, Mr. Gould remarked that the tradition assigning the erection of the great mound to the Danes is very probably correct; but these mound and court forts were erected by Saxons, Danes, and Normans, and belong to the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries.

Mr. Compton considered that undoubtedly Thetford was the site of a Roman station; but he thought that neither Thetford nor Woolpit is the successor of Sitomagus, but that that site is to be sought somewhere in the neighbourhood.

The Chairman said the Paper was an admirable illustration of the use to be made of archæological research during a day's outing in the country.

Mr. Astley, in replying, mentioned, as an undoubted proof of the post-Roman (to say no more) date of the mound and court forts, the fact that the Castle mound at Norwich, which tradition also ascribes to the Danes, stands on the very track of the Roman road from Caistor to Brancaster, as was ascertained during the course of some recent excavations, when the Roman road was discovered, at a depth of 14 ft. from the ground level, running exactly under the centre of the mound. A plan of Thetford Priory, several early editions of antiquarian works of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, bearing on the history of Thetford, and a fine series of drawings of the "Old Halls and Manor Houses of Norfolk," by the late Mr E. P. Willins, illustrated the Paper.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20TH, 1901.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., F.S.A., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the Library :—

- To the* Société des Antiquaires de le Morinie for "Bulletin Historique," Tome x, 1900.
- „ Smithsonian Institution, for the "Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. 1895-6," Pt. 2.
- „ George E. Tarver, Esq., for "Outlines of Christian History."
- „ Brussels Archæological Society, for "Report, 1901."

Mr. Patrick, Hon. Secretary, read some notes of a discovery made at Lancaster on the 13th inst., communicated by Mr. T. Cann Hughes. The discovery consists of two urns, probably Saxon. The larger was in a fragmentary condition, but the smaller is intact. They are both of imperfectly-dried clay of a reddish colour, and bear handmarkings. No ashes or coins were found. The urn and the fragments have been deposited in the museum in the Storey Institute, together with a tracing showing the exact spot where they were found. The locality, at the junction of Alfred and De Vitre Streets, is quite a new one, not at all in the centre of the town, but not far from the site of a former monastic establishment. The find is not otherwise important.

With reference to the recent Chaucer quincenary, the Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma read an interesting Paper upon "Chaucer as illustrating English Mediæval Life." He said there were three great lights

illustrating mediæval English life—Wycliffe, Chaucer, and “Piers Ploughman.” The first takes the clerical standpoint, as a sort of English Savonarola, denouncing the vice, dissipation, and coarseness of the upper classes in Church and State in the days of Richard II, and suggesting the reforms which in his opinion were necessary. Chaucer takes the more congenial lay view of a satirist and poet. “Piers Ploughman” raises a jeremiad against mediæval defects and shortcomings, but in the allegorical mode so fashionable at the time. There are many points in which the personality of Chaucer resembles that of Dickens: both are humourists, both have a hearty hatred of humbug and hypocrisy; both stoop to depict the poor and the ignorant and vulgar, and both have vast powers of description. Chaucer, however, rises to a higher stage of elegance of description, and his imagination is of a far more gorgeous kind than that of Dickens. In Chaucer we have both the light and shadow of mediæval England. We see tournaments and pageants, fine knights and ladies in baronial halls, the rough middle-class burgher, the artisan in his rude humble home, and the peasant emerging from barbarism. The people of England have not really changed much since Chaucer’s day, the majority of the personages in the “Canterbury Tales” being still met with to-day. The author considered that an historic lesson was to be learned from the fact that, although costumes, habits, and fashions might differ, the “John Bull” of the end of the fourteenth century was very like his descendant of the end of the nineteenth. He wished that that fact could be more enforced in history lessons in schools. This Paper will be published.

An interesting discussion followed, in which Major Frere, Mr Kershaw, Mr. Compton, Mr. Patrick, and the Chairman took part.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 3RD, 1900.

BENJAMIN WINSTONE, ESQ., M.D., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

Mrs. Collier exhibited an ancient religious picture of Byzantine art, painted on panel and enclosed in an ornamental silver frame about 6 ins. square, with a curious filling of silver embroidery concealing the picture, excepting the heads and hands of the figures. It was an “icon,” and was brought from Moscow. She also exhibited a small shrine of bronze, inlaid with mother-of-pearl, presenting the singular feature of one foot of the Crucified being much larger than the other. This also came from Moscow.

Mr. Patrick, Hon. Secretary, read a lengthy Paper by Miss Russell on “The Structure and Probable History of some Rude Stone Forts in

Scotland." The forts more particularly dealt with were those of Craig Phadriæ, near Inverness, and Castle Finlay, between Inverness and Nairn. Craig Phadriæ is a fort of loose stones bearing no visible traces of vitrification, although it is probable that a real vitrified wall exists beneath the stones, forming a backbone, or core, to keep the larger rampart of loose stones in place. Castle Finlay is a much smaller fort, standing on a bridle path through the woods, which is locally said to be the old road to Perth. It is quite small, with—in proportion—a large loose stone rampart all round, in which the natives seem to find burnt stones. There is strong probability that Craig Phadriæ is really the castle on Loch Ness where St. Columba visited the King of the Picts.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 17TH, 1901.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., F.S.A., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following members were duly elected :—

Ernest H. Winstone, Esq., M.A., Victoria Mansions,
28, Victoria Street, S.W.

Percy Scott, Esq., 2, Woodbridge Lane, North Finchley, N.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the Library :—

To the Royal Institute of British Architects, for "Journal," vol. viii, 3rd Series, 1901.

„ *Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, for "Transactions," vol. xxii, 1899.*

„ *Society of Antiquaries, London, for "Proceedings," vol. xviii, No. 1, 1900 ; "Archæologia," vol. lvii, Pt. I.*

„ *Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, for "Journal," vol. xxxi, Pt. 1, 1901.*

Mr. C. E. Keyser, F.S.A., gave a most interesting exhibition of photographic lantern slides, illustrating the Norman tympana of English ecclesiastical doorways. There were over one hundred and seventy slides, besides a large number of bromide enlargements, arranged in series on the walls round the room. Mr. Keyser explained that he did not intend to give a lecture, or read a paper, but simply to offer a few remarks upon the subject of the views as each was shown, with the name of the building from which it was taken. The series ranged from the hatched and moulded tympana, through those on which birds, animals, trees, and other emblematic or allegorical designs are depicted, to the more distinctly ecclesiastical designs of the later Norman period. Dr. Brushfield's Paper on the Norman tympana of

Derbyshire was more than once referred to, but Mr. Keyser's collection covers the whole country; and it was noticeable that, without a note, not once did he fail to name without hesitation the place and county of each example shown. A very hearty vote of thanks was accorded Mr. Keyser for this exhibition, which has been given before several other societies, and for showing the collection of photographs, which is being continually added to, and which is certainly a magnificent one, and, of its kind, unique.

The following Paper on some recent discoveries in Lancashire was also contributed by Mr. T. Cann Hughes, M.A., F.S.A.

DISCOVERIES AT BLEASDALE, LANC.

Far from the busy haunts of men has been found one of the most interesting early burial-places in the North of England. In the year 1864, some British interments were found on Lancaster Moor, and a Paper on these was prepared by John Harker, M.D., J.P. (then Medical Officer for Lancaster), and was read by him before our Association on January 25th, 1865, and is printed and fully illustrated on pp. 159-161, vol. xxi, of our *Journal*. On February 21st, 1877, Dr. Harker read a further Paper on more British remains found on the site of the military barracks in Bowerham Lane, Lancaster.

But it was reserved for Mr. Shadrach Jackson to make the discovery to which this Paper particularly relates. His excavations commenced in 1898, and on November 3rd, 1899, he reported progress to the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, of which he is a most energetic member. He has received splendid help from Mr. Kelsall, the occupier of Fairsnape Farm, where the remains were found.

Bleasdale was formerly a royal forest, but is now very sparsely populated, and is mainly known by the Bleasdale Reformatory for Boys, which is in the parish. The site where the remains are found is some miles north of Preston, on the right-hand side of the London and North-Western Railway line, going North, and five miles from it. The spot is surrounded by fells, the nearest being Fairsnape Fell, 1,674 ft. above sea-level. It is also near to Admarsh Church. The surroundings are weird moorlands. In the summer of 1898, Mr. Jackson's attention was drawn to a circle on the grass. It was in the form of a ring, upon the Admarsh Flats, about 24 yards in diameter, and only a few inches above the level of the field. Mr. Jackson shall now tell his own story:—

"I determined to investigate the circle, and with the valuable assistance of Mr. Kelsall, proceeded to dig across it. We did not at first find anything, and, as I will show afterwards, this was fortunate;

so we made a deeper excavation, and at a depth of about 4 ft. came upon five (tree) logs, placed in front of each other. These were in a pulpy state when found, but the wood contracted and hardened by exposure. Digging at various places in the circumference we met with similar results, and so concluded that the logs were continued round, although we thought at the time this might not be the case on the eastern rim, but that an entrance was left there. . . . I determined to make further research, thinking that such a structure would not be made without some purpose. With Mr. Kelsall's assistance, I again commenced excavating, this time in the centre of the circle. At a depth of about 22 ins. we were rewarded by the discovery of three cinerary urns."

By Mr. Jackson's courtesy, I am able to send a photograph of these herewith.¹ That on the right bears a very distinct likeness to those discovered by Dr. Harker in 1864. The small cup was found in the mouth of the larger urn, inverted: all were filled with charcoal and small particles of bone, and were, when found, imbedded in clay and soft, but hardened by exposure. This interesting discovery was reported on January 25th, 1900, to the Society of Antiquaries by Lt.-Col. Henry Fishwick, F.S.A., local secretary for Lancashire. He also referred to the fact that in 1889 a sepulchral urn was found at Inskip, in the parish of St. Michael's-in-Wyre (of which Col. Fishwick wrote the history for the Chetham Society). This place is about ten miles from Bleasdale, on the flat lands nearer Morecambe Bay.

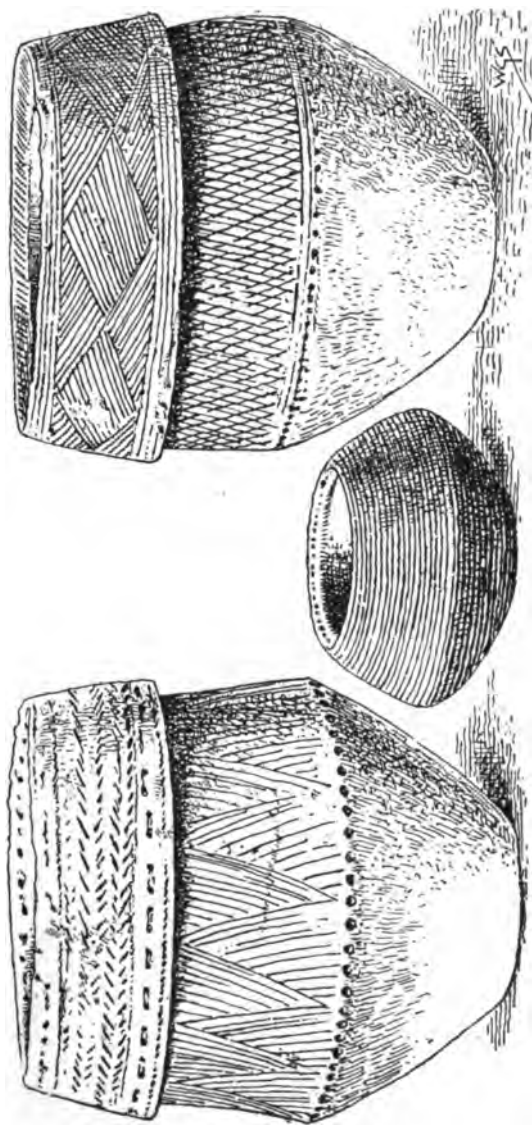
On October 16th, 1900, the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society met on the ground, which had been much more excavated, and Mr. Jackson repeated his Paper. Professor Boyd Dawkins (President of the Society); Mr. G. C. Yates, F.S.A.; Mr. Charles William Sutton (Free Librarian, Manchester), myself, and other antiquaries were present.

Mr. Jackson had, at Professor Dawkins' suggestion, detailed drawings prepared, and these were used on January 11th, when Professor Dawkins read an elaborate Paper before the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, on the whole excavations. This will be printed and very fully illustrated in their Journal for 1901.

The following account appeared in the *Manchester City News*, on January 19th:—

"The President gave an interesting address on the recent discoveries at Fairsnape, Bleasdale, and illustrated the same by plans, photographs, and bronze implements. The group of prehistoric remains at Bleasdale

¹ This is here reproduced from a Block kindly lent by the Proprietors of *The Reliquary*, Messrs. Benrose and Sons.



THREE CINERARY URNS AT BLEASDALE, LANCOS.

occupy a striking position on a knoll of boulders in the middle of an amphitheatre of moorland hills, about 650 yards due west of Fairsnape Farm. They consist of two circles made of timber; the outer being 150 ft. in diameter, and the inner 75 ft. The outer circle consisted of round logs of oak placed closely side by side. The inner circle is much more complex in its structure. It is formed of an outside ring of earth or vallum, and is composed of clay thrown out of the ditch on the inside. Within this was a low mound, now ploughed down, formed also of clay out of the ditch; and in an excavation carried down to a depth of 2 ft. below the old ground surface, a group of urns was discovered in a rectangular hole which had been filled with wood ashes. The two funeral urns contained calcined human bones. The only other human relic found within the circle was a mass of charcoal. There were no remains of the animals which had been eaten, or of fragments of domestic pottery, such as are usually found in prehistoric dwellings and burial-places. The flooring of the ditch is unique. It was carefully levelled. Its use is an open question. It may have been intended for a ceremonial procession at stated times in honour of the dead. The date of this remarkable burying-place is proved by the pottery to fall within the remote period, characterised by the use of bronze, in which cremation began to be practised in the British Isles. The urns are characteristic of the Bronze Age, and have been repeatedly met with in various parts of the British Isles. Examination of the timbers points in the same direction. They bear unmistakable proof that they were trimmed and cut into shape with bronze axes. This remarkable burial-place falls therefore into line with that large series of burial mounds of the Bronze Age, which lies scattered not only all over the British Isles, but over the greater portion of Europe. In other places, the material employed is stone. Then, in place of stone, wood was employed. In this respect the Bleasdale burial-place is unique."

The regular wooden platform of logs was most interesting, and the antiquarian world must thank Mr. Jackson for his work, and look anxiously for the full account to appear later. The remains have been placed in the Harris Institute, Preston, and the excavations closed up.

As illustrative of the whole subject, the fragments of urns and one "incense-cup" (like that at Bleasdale), found at the corner of Alfred and De Vitre Streets, in Lancaster, and already reported, are interesting. They are placed in the Storey Institute, Lancaster.

Mr. Patrick announced that the Congress this year would be held at Newcastle-on-Tyne, from Thursday, July 18th, to Wednesday, July 24th, under the presidency of Dr. Thos. Hodgkin, of Barmoor Castle, Beal, Northumberland.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 1ST, 1901.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

The Ballot was declared open, and, after the usual interval, was taken, with the following result:—

President.

THOMAS HODGKIN, Esq., M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., E.M.; THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND, K.G.; THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G., G.C.S.I.; THE MARQUIS OF GRANBY; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCOMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, G.C.S.I.; THE LORD BISHOP OF ELY; SIR CHARLES H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, BART.; THE LORD MOSTYN; THE LORD BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH.

DR. WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A.
THOMAS BLASHILL, Esq.
CECIL BRENT, Esq., F.S.A.
ARTHUR CATES, Esq.
C. H. COMPTON, Esq.
WILLIAM HENRY COPE, Esq., F.S.A.
H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A.
Scot.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L.,
F.R.S., F.S.A.
COLONEL GEORGE LAMBERT, F.S.A.
CHARLES LYNAM, Esq., F.S.A.
J. S. PHÉNÉ, Esq., F.S.A., LL.D.
BENJAMIN WINSTONE, Esq., M.D.
SIR ALBERT WOODS, F.S.A. (*Garter
King of Arms*)

Honorary Treasurer.

CHARLES LYNAM, Esq., F.S.A.

Sub-Treasurer.

SAMUEL RAYSON, Esq.

Honorary Secretaries.

GEORGE PATRICK, Esq., A.R.I.B.A.
THE REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A.

Council.

W. DERRHAM, Esq.
THE REV. C. F. EVELYN-WHITE,
F.S.A.
I. CHALKLEY GOULD, Esq.
RICHARD HORSFALL, Esq.
ROBERT HOVENDEN, Esq., F.S.A.
T. CANN HUGHES, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
W. E. HUGHES, Esq.
S. W. KERSHAW, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
THE REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA,
M.A.

RICHARD DUPPA LLOYD, Esq.,
F.R.Hist.S.
W. J. NICHOLS, Esq.
A. OLIVER, Esq., F.R.I.B.A.
THOMAS PEACOCK, Esq., F.S.A.
W. H. RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A.
R. E. WAY, Esq.
C. J. WILLIAMS, Esq.
T. CATO WORSFOLD, Esq., F.R.Hist.
Soc.

Auditors.

CECIL DAVIS, Esq.
R. H. FORSTER, Esq.

Rev. H. J. D. Astley, *Hon. Sec.*, read the following.

Secretaries' Report for the year ending December 31st, 1900 :—

"The Honorary Secretaries have the honour of laying before the Association, at the Annual Meeting held this day, their customary Report on the state of the Association during the year 1900 :—

"1. The number of Associates remains at about the normal standard. Twelve additional members joined in 1900, and several were removed by death or resignation. The results of the Leicester Congress in respect of gaining an accession of new members were disappointing, but a sub-committee of the Council has been appointed to consider the matter, and it is hoped that one consequence of their deliberations will be a determined effort to secure a considerable number of new Associates after the Congress shortly to be held at Newcastle. It should also be the earnest endeavour of every Associate to secure, in every possible way, more widespread interest in, and support of, the Association and its objects.

"2. Obituary Notices of the Associates whom we have lost by death will be found in those parts of the *Journal* set apart for that purpose.

"3. Many valuable presents continue to be made to the Library of the Association, and the Hon. Secretaries have good hopes that some definite steps may shortly be taken to make the books available for the use of the Associates.

"4. Twenty-five of the more important Papers which were read at the Buxton Congress, and during the winter session in London, have been printed in the *Journal* for 1900, which is illustrated with fifty-four plates and process blocks. The warm acknowledgments of the Council are due to those authors of Papers who kindly contributed to this end.

"The Hon. Secretaries are glad to announce that they have in hand a large number of Papers relating to the Leicester Congress, and Papers read during the present session in London. These have been accepted for publication in the *Journal* as circumstances permit.

"5. The Hon. Secretaries would again remind the local members of Council and Associates generally of the importance of laying before the meetings, and transmitting to the Editor from time to time, early accounts of fresh discoveries, or notices of any interesting researches. In this way alone can the stream of knowledge be kept fresh, and interest in the work of the Association be maintained in unabated vigor.

"Hearty thanks are due to all who have kindly contributed such notices during the year 1900.

"GEO. PATRICK
"H. J. DUKINFELD ASTLEY } *Hon. Secs.*"

British Archaeological Association.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31st DECEMBER, 1900.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Subscriptions . . .	175	17	0			
" Books sold . . .	19	1	9			
" Interest Post Office Savings Bank . . .	1	8	10			
" Leicester Congress . . .	52	18	6			
" Entrance fees . . .	7	7	0			
				256	13	1
Printing bill unpaid, Dec. 31, 1900 . . .	120	4	0			
Dec. 31. Balance at Bank . . .	£31	4	1			
" " with Sub- Treasurer . . .	5	5	0			
" " P.O. Savings Bank . . .	56	14	9			
				93	3	10
" " Dr. Balance . . .				27	0	2
				£283	13	3

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Outstanding liability, Dec. 31, 1899, since paid off . . .	121	7	5			
" Cash in hand . . .	110	9	8			
" Debit Balance, Dec. 31, 1899 . . .				10	17	9
" Printing and Editing <i>Journal</i> . . .	162	5	3			
" Illustrations to <i>Journal</i> . . .	£20	14	3			
" Less Donations for same . . .	5	17	6			
				14	16	9
" Delivery of <i>Journals</i> . . .				11	10	1
" Miscellaneous Printing & Advertising . . .	18	17	6			
" Rent and Salaries . . .	47	8	0			
" Stationery, Postage, and Incidentals . . .	17	17	11			
				272	15	6
				£283	13	3

Audited and found correct, 22 March, 1901.

(Signed) Cecil T. Davis }
T. CARO WORSFOLD } Auditors.

Mr. S. Rayson, Sub-Treasurer, read the following remarks on the foregoing Balance Sheet :—

"I regret very much to report an increase in the debit Balance of the Association ; at the Annual Meeting last year it was reported to be £10 17s. 9d., now it is £27 0s. 2d. The falling off in the Annual Subscriptions will more than account for this increased indebtedness. Such a diminution as £31 1s. 0d. in the subscriptions (which must always be looked upon as the mainstay of the Association) cannot be regarded otherwise than with grave apprehension.

"The co-operation of the Associates by enlisting new members is earnestly solicited, in order that the work of the Association may be carried on with unabated vigour and usefulness.

"Donations towards the expenses of the Association are invited."

While the Ballot was open, an interesting account of the exploration of a tumulus in Buckenham Fields, Norfolk, communicated by the Right Hon. Lord Amherst, of Hackney, was read by the Rev. H. J. D. Astley. This is published, pp. 183-188.

Mr. T. Cato Worsfold read a Paper entitled "The Porta Nigra : a Treasure of Tréves," which has been published, pp. 143-148.

An interesting discussion then followed, in which Mr. Blashill, Rev. C. H. Evelyn-White, Mr. Gould, Mr. Kershaw, and others took part.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 15th, 1901.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following members were duly elected :—

Henry P. Leopold Cart, Esq., 9, Rockmount, Upper Norwood, S.E.

Miss A. K. Walker, Woodbury, Sydenham Hill, S.E.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the Library :—

To the Royal Archæological Institute, for "Journal," vol. viii, No. 1, 2nd Series, 1901.

„ Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, for "Proceedings," vol. x, 3rd Series.

„ Smithsonian Institution, for "A Select Biography of Chemistry," 1492-1897.

„ Derbyshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Society, for "Journal," vol. xxiii, 1901.

„ Cambrian Arch. Association for "Archæologia Cambrensis," April, 1901.

The early colonization of Britain by highly civilized and refined immigrants formed the subject of a paper by Dr. Phené, who has travelled extensively in the Levant, Spain, and Italy, and has recently been studying some very ancient records referring to the early states in and around Etruria in the pre-Roman age. These states contracted with Carthage not to colonize a particular island, the name of which was carefully concealed under an anonym. By tracing the routes of certain tribes mentioned by Julius Cæsar and Diodorus Siculus, he had been able to find corresponding remains of such tribes, with identically the same place-name in each case, leading towards and into Britain, which all tended to show that the anonymous island was Britain. By a breach of the contract with Carthage the island had been so colonized, and enormous quantities had been accumulated of gold from Ireland and of many valuable products from Britain, leading to the inference that this secretly-conducted commerce had been heard of by Cæsar, who in consequence summoned the congress of merchants to ascertain the particulars; but, failing to obtain the information through the reticence of the merchants, invaded Britain and returned with "much booty," as related by Strabo. It is an interesting question whether this booty was gold. Several classical writers record gold as a British export. The paper was illustrated by several well-drawn charts and plans.

Mr. Allan O. Collard followed with some interesting particulars of the history of the very ancient body of "Free Fishers and Dredgers" of Whitstable, famous for its oysters from Roman times, for it was about the year A.D. 80 that they were first exported to Rome by Julius Agricola. The history of Whitstable is most closely interwoven with that of its fishermen, who have an ancestry reaching far back into the dim past. Some of the family names can be traced for centuries in the enrolment books preserved by the present Whitstable Fishery Company.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 5th, 1901.

THOS. BLASHILL, ESQ., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following member was duly elected:—

The Right Hon. the Earl of Leicester, Holkham Hall,
Norfolk.

The following letter was read and entered on the Minutes:—

"Privy Purse Office,"

"Buckingham Palace, S.W."

"Sir Francis Knollys is commanded to express the King's thanks to the Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, for his letter of the 8th

inst., and for the enclosed copy of the Journal of the British Archaeological Association.

"11th May, 1901."—

The copy referred to is vol. vii, N. S., Part 1, March, 1901, containing the Obituary notice of Her Late Majesty, Queen Victoria.

Mr. I. C. Gould read some Notes, contributed by Mr. Ed. Fry, of Dover, on the recent finds at Dover and Walmer; and exhibited a photograph of the pottery discovered at Walmer. These will be published.

Dr. Winstone exhibited a pair of antique candlesticks, supposed to be Dutch, and some gold-mounted arrowheads as ornaments.

Mrs. Collier exhibited a photograph of a fresco from Lugano, Chiusa degli Angiori; also a photograph of an allegorical painting from Chaldon Rectory, Caterham.

Dr. Birch read a most interesting paper, "On the Life and Times of Alfred the Great." Mr. Blashill, Mr. Gould, and Mr. Williams offered observations, and an unanimous vote of thanks was passed to Dr. Birch.

The Paper will be published.



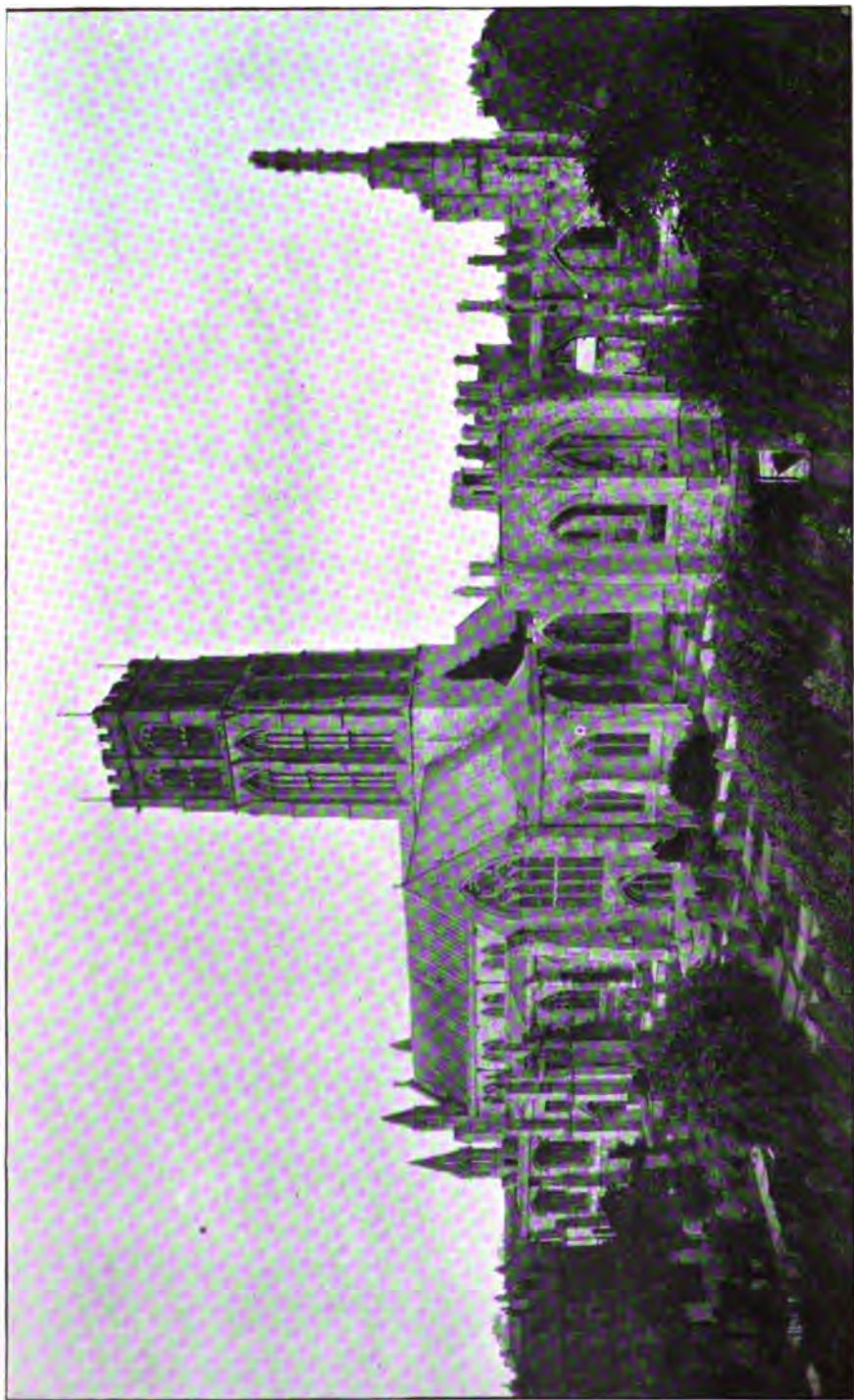


Antiquarian Intelligence.

Florentine Villas. By JANET ROSS, (London: J. M. Dent and Co.):—It has been thought that a detailed account of some of the beautiful villas near Florence might prove a welcome addition to the history and art-lore of Italy; and Mrs. Ross (the authoress of "*Italian Sketches*," &c., &c.), who has spent many years in Tuscany, and resides at Poggio Gherardo, one of the historic Florentine villas, is exceptionally fitted to be the historian. Her book will treat not only of the villas, but of those who lived in them including, many of the greatest names in the History, Art, and Literature of the Renaissance; it will contain many incidents and anecdotes associated with the Medici, those patrons and preservers of much that is enduring in the Art and Letters of Italy; and other celebrated and some comparatively unknown families.

Ariosto and other poets sang the glories of the villas and their surroundings, renowned artists designed fountains, statues, and grottoes, ornamented with the figures of gods and strange animals, for the terraced gardens frequented by a brilliant company of lords and ladies, who strolled along the trellised walks amidst a wealth of flowers. Now, much of the glory has departed from these historic villas, and one at least has fallen from its splendour, and is now divided into tenements for the poor. But their interest ever remains, and will appear again in vivid pictures with fresh attractions in this book. For, while giving an accurate and complete account of their better days, with the history and associations not only of their illustrious owners but of the artists who were connected with them, our authoress also describes their present condition.

Zocchi's rare and interesting engravings of the villas as they were in 1744, are being very carefully reproduced in photogravure, and about sixteen of the finest medals in the Bargello have been photographed, to give the likenesses of the more renowned occupants of these villas and their friends; and a hitherto-unknown cast of the face of Lorenzo the Magnificent, taken after death, and lately discovered in Florence, has by special permission, been reproduced for this book.



HOWDEN CHURCH, YORKSHIRE.

Miss Nelly Erichsen has for some time been making careful and artistic drawings of the more prominent villas as they are to-day, together with some of the delightful detail which marks the personal feeling of their former occupants, and these will be reproduced as head- and tail-pieces in the text.

The first issue will be an *Edition de Luxe* printed on the finest hand-made paper, with the Zocchi engravings (proofs before letters) on India paper, and the drawings in the text specially mounted. Of these only such copies as are subscribed for will be printed, the maximum number not exceeding 100; each will be numbered, and the name of the subscriber printed in the allotted copy. The size of the book will be medium folio, and it will be bound in half polished morocco, with parchment sides, and artistically embellished with the Arms of Floréncé. The price of this copy will be £10 10s. net.

The Smaller Edition, limited to not more than 500 copies, will be an Imperial 4to, bound in buckram with gilt top, and will be published at £3 3s. net.

The publishers hope to produce the book during the present year, but as the reproductions of the etchings need careful manipulation, they cannot bind themselves too closely to any date.

A specimen of the photogravure reproductions can be seen at the booksellers.

List of Villas:—1, Palmieri; 2, Poggio a Caiano; 3, Cafagginolo; 4, Careggi; 5, Rusciano; 6, Poggio Imperiale; 7, Lappeggi; 8, Petraia; 9, Bellosguardo; 10, Castello; 11, Corsini a Castello; 12, Medicea; 13, Ambrogiana; 14, Pratolino; 15, Salviati; 16, Font a l'Ertà; 17, Gamberaia; 18, Monte Guffone; 19, Castel Pulci; 20, Poggio Gherardo; 21, Le Selve; 22, I Collazzi.

Howden Church, Yorkshire.—Howden Church is justly celebrated, even in a country so rich in mediæval remains as Yorkshire is, as one of the most magnificent achievements of the Middle Ages.

Originally connected with the Abbey of Peterborough, Howden passed as early as the time of the Conqueror into the hands of the Bishops of Durham, who had a manor-house here. In 1267 the church was made collegiate, and the rebuilding of the structure was commenced on a grand scale by the erection of the transepts. The nave, with its beautiful west front, dates from the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, and was closely followed by the erection of the magnificent choir. The chapter-house, a veritable masterpiece of the art of its period, was built by Bishop Walter

Skirlaw (1388-1406), who also bequeathed funds for the erection of the central stage of the tower, which was completed in the time of his successor, Cardinal Langley. The belfry stage was added in the latter part of the fifteenth century.

The collegiate establishment was dissolved in the first year of Edward VI, and the confiscation of the prebends diverted funds which should have been devoted to the repair of the fabric into private hands. The nave and transepts continued to be used as the parish church, but the choir was abandoned early in the seventeenth century ; the lead was stripped from its roof in 1634, and, as an inevitable result of this neglect, its vault fell in 1696. The vault of the chapter-house followed in 1750. At some later period, iron bands were added to strengthen the eastern gable of the choir ; but little has been done since, either to the choir or chapter-house, to counteract the destructive effects of time and weather.

In 1896, the vicar and churchwardens instructed Mr. John Bilson, F.S.A., to report on the condition of the church. In his report he stated that "the choir and chapter-house most urgently require attention. They are necessarily much exposed to the weather, and in many parts the masonry is suffering severely from the effects of water finding its way into the walls through the open joints—defects which are indicated clearly enough by the growth of vegetation on the upper parts of the walls. Repairs are here the more necessary, because the east end and the chapter-house justly rank among the finest architectural achievements of their respective periods, and further injury to them would be most disastrous."

Howden is not a wealthy town, and the church has no funds available for the repair of the fabric. The parishioners maintain the nave and transepts, which are used for the services of the church ; but the repair of the ruined parts of the church is beyond their resources. The vicar and churchwardens therefore appeal with confidence to the liberality of all those who care for the preservation of our ancient churches, to provide the sum of £2,000, to enable them to secure the choir and chapter-house against further disaster.

It need scarcely be said that nothing in the way of so-called "restoration" will be attempted. The object is to *preserve*, not to *restore*. Not a single old stone will be replaced by new, simply because it is decayed ; indeed, no new stonework will be inserted at all, except in a few cases where this is found to be a necessity to secure the stability of the structure. The work which has already been carried out on the south wall of the choir is an example of the method which it is proposed to adopt for the remainder of the choir and the chapter-house. This

work was, on its completion, examined on behalf of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, and approved.

The undertaking has the cordial approval of the Archbishop of York. It is also approved by the Yorkshire Archæological Society, and the East Riding Antiquarian Society. It is hoped, therefore, that such a generous response will be made to this appeal as will enable the work of repair to be commenced at once. Subscriptions will be received by the Rev. W. Hutchinson, The Vicarage, Howden.

On a Tumulus in Buckenham Fields, Norfolk, explored August 1900, by Lord Amherst of Hackney.—Over a large part of Norfolk there is a deposit of sandy gravel, the finer part of which is continually being shifted to-and-fro, with a net result in favour of the prevalent dry winds: for, though the wind may blow, the sand will not rise when wet; nor will the soil travel unless the ground be broken, and the sod with its binding mat of roots be destroyed; while the effect of vegetation, and especially of grass, is to catch and hold the flying fragments of organic matter and the dust, and thus add to the surface soil. These sandy soils are called "breck sands," and the areas over which they occur are known as "brecks." The perpetual shifting of the surface has given rise to the jocular saying, that the ownership of the soil in Norfolk depends upon the direction of the wind. The effect of this wind-borne sand is to fill up hollows, raise mounds and ridges, and generally to efface all earthworks, tumuli, ditches, and other marks of human occupation.

Another very marked result may be observed in any district where this to-and-fro shifting of the fine particles is going on. The wind cannot move the stones and coarser material, which therefore settle down by degrees to the bottom, where they remain as a ridge or mound, and this forms an obstruction which arrests the blown sand, and originates a new accumulation on the same spot. Any heavier objects, dropped by nature or by man on such sand-hills, in their turn work down, as the fine particles are again blown away. Thus we find, when the swirl of the wind has opened a new basin-like hollow in the midst of rapidly-shifting sand-dunes, that remains of very different ages (flint arrow-heads, coins, etc.), have all settled to the bottom; while the polished surface of many of the stones shows that they were once at the surface, and exposed to the sand blast. Thus, in such a soil as that of the Brecks, we have to look out for layers of stone formed by this winnowing process, and for those which are due to the original mode of deposition of the false bedded sand and gravel, as well as layers spread out in connection with interments. Another point we must

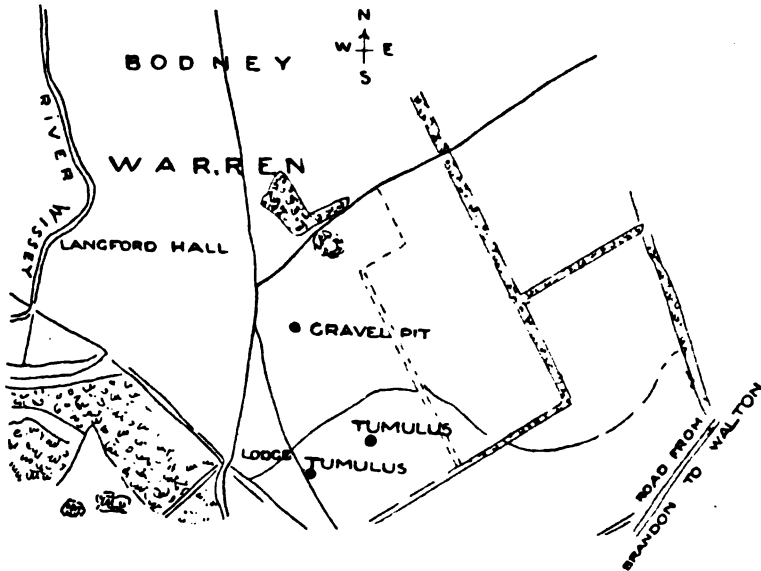
bear in mind is this: when land on which there is a tumulus is first broken up, the mound, especially if it be steep, is left untouched, and being covered with brushwood or other vegetation, catches the soil which now blows off the surrounding land more freely than before, and thus the surface soil of the mound grows. When once, however, the plough crosses the tumulus, its degradation goes on apace. These remarks are well illustrated by the present state of the great lines of bank and ditch, running north from the Brandon River to the Wissey, and from the Wissey to the Nar: each of them, with its fosses on the east, showing that this was a district which some ancient people took the trouble to cut off from the borders of the Fens by strong earth-works.

The condition of the two large tumuli on Lord Amherst's property, about seven miles north of Brandon, offers further confirmations of the above observations respecting the shifting of the surface. These mounds stand in the open fields north of the stream, which runs below Buckenham Hall, on light, dry, sandy ground a little over 100 ft. above sea level, in the south-eastern portion of Bodney Warren. The larger stands on the highest part of the ground, about a mile north-east of Buckenham Tofts Hall. This one is shown upon the 6-in. Ordnance Map. A little less than 500 yards south-west of this, and a little more than that distance due west of the lodge, there is another mound, now so much degraded that it escaped the notice of the Ordnance Surveyors.

When we visited the mound with Lord Amherst, we found some bits of pottery, thrown out by a rabbit from the east side of the larger mound, which were suspiciously like Roman ware; but beyond the certainty, from its form and the surrounding geographical conditions, that the mound was artificial, we had no further evidence.

Having regard to the traces of early occupation of the district, shown by the holes sunk to obtain flint for neolithic implements, the opening to one of which is seen near the Hall not more than a mile off, and remembering, that in still later times the Peddar's Way was constructed to provide communication between the districts to the north and south, there was nothing improbable in our finding here a sepulchral mound of the Bronze, or Roman, or Saxon Age, or even one in which secondary interments of a later age had been made in a tumulus, which had been originally thrown up by one of the earlier races. Later on in the same year, Lord Amherst decided to open the larger tumulus, and most hospitably and considerately gathered a large party at Diddlington Hall, of persons interested and experienced in such operations. Besides Lord and Lady Amherst and their family, the

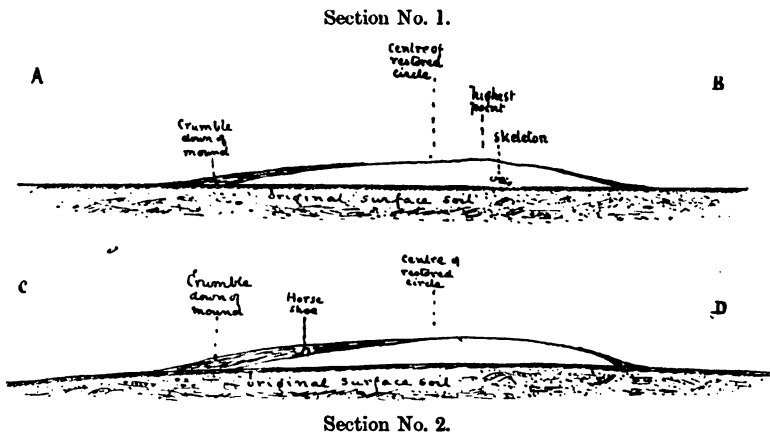
party consisted of the Baron and Baroness Anatole Von Hügel, Mr. le Strange, of Hunstanton, Mr. and Mrs. Basil Thomson, Professor Mahaffy, and Professor and Mrs. Hughes; and several visitors from the neighbourhood dropped in during the progress of the excavations. The work proved somewhat heavier than had been anticipated, in consequence of the tumulus having been thrown up on the brow of the slope, so that it deepened on its lower side more than was foreseen. It is often very difficult to make out which is the centre of a sepulchral mound, as the additions, whether of earth or stones, would be originally larger on the side where it was most easy to procure materials; and, in



after-ages, the crumbling down of the mound would be greater where it was helped by the slope of the ground. In this case the centre of the mound (see ground plan), as obtained by measurement from its inferred marginal outline, did not coincide with the highest point; nor did the position of the only interment which we found agree with either. We divided the mound into quadrants, separate parties undertaking each, and dug the whole face clean in front of us, down to the level of the undisturbed sand and gravel. In this way we made sure that nothing could be overlooked, and that we should not over-run any interment made in the original surface of the ground, and therefore below the level of the bottom of the mound. We provided also for the easy record of the exact position of any object found, by reference to co-

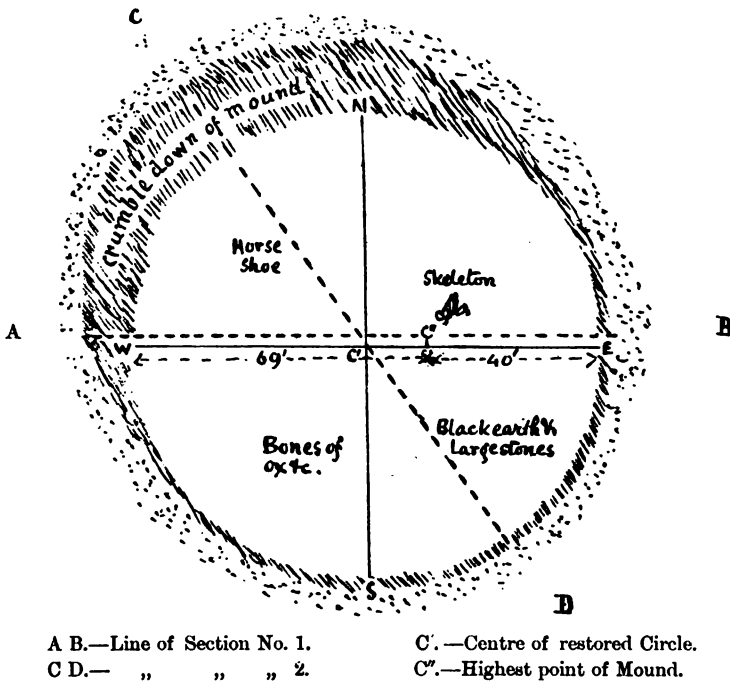
ordinates drawn to our measured lines through the centre. The care and liberality with which the work was carried out deserved a better fate ; but no secondary or contemporary marginal interment was found to reward our labour.

In the north-west quadrant an old horseshoe without calkins was found, raising our hopes that the Saxon remains might be near. But this was in ground much disturbed in rabbiting, etc. (see Section No. 2), and nothing more turned up. In the south-west quadrant some bones of domestic animals occurred in the soil, suggesting relics of the funeral feast, and so on ; but nothing came of that. In the south-west quadrant, from which the rabbit had turned out the fragments, which so much resembled Roman pottery, we were greatly



excited by finding a quantity of black earth and some large stones. This seemed very promising, especially to those who had on previous occasions found urns covered by, or inverted on, slabs of stone. However, nothing more was obtained ; and we sadly recollected how, in similar situations, we had seen that parts, or the whole, of a badly-burnt urn returned to earth, leaving but a dark line to indicate where it had been. In the north-east quadrant, however, in the afternoon of our last day, a skeleton was uncovered (see ground plan and Section No. 1), lying with the head pointing—not to the centre by measurement, but to the highest part of the mound, from which it was distant about 3 ft. in a north-easterly direction. The bones were not so well preserved as to render it easy to remove them without further appliances than we had by us, and it was decided to cover it up again undisturbed (except some of the smaller limb-bones, accidentally moved when first

discovered), and to leave it there, till perhaps the rest of the mound could be systematically explored. The skeleton was lying on its right side, with the knees drawn up and the hands raised to the head, which rested on the right hand. This posture indicated a British interment. The skull was too much crushed to enable us to examine its form satisfactorily, but it appeared to be a well-shaped mesocephalic head. The femur was $18\frac{1}{4}$ in. long, indicating a stature of about 5 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. The body lay at a depth of 5 ft. 3 in. from the surface of the mound,



and about 1 ft. 6 in. from the bottom of the made ground. Seeing, then, that the body did not occur in the centre nor at the bottom of the mound, but at a great depth near the centre, it seems quite possible that it may be a contemporary burial of secondary importance, and that the principal interment may be concealed under the deepest part of the mound, not yet explored. After Professor Hughes and others had left, a rather interesting discovery was made, of a circle of charred earth and ashes, some 6 in. in width, forming an almost complete ring round the skeleton, at a distance of about 2 ft. from it.

All who took part in this most interesting investigation concurred

in expressing their warm gratitude to Lord and Lady Amherst, for the way in which they had carried out the systematic and exhaustive examination of the evidence, undeterred by the absence of any finds of interest throughout all the first days of the work.

T. McKENNY HUGHES, F.R.S.

The Stall-Plates of the Knights of the Order of the Garter, 1348-1485.—Messrs. Archibald Constable and Co., 2, Whitehall Gardens, Westminster, beg to call attention to an unique and beautiful work which they are now issuing in Eight Monthly Parts, price 12s. 6d. net per Part, and dedicated by gracious privilege during her lifetime to Her Late Majesty Queen Victoria, Sovereign of the Most Noble Order of the Garter. The Parts already issued may be seen at all the leading booksellers, from whom full particulars, prospectus, and specimen plates may be had on application. The work consists of a series of full-sized coloured facsimiles, with Descriptive Notes and Historical Introductions by W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A., F.S.A. The edition is strictly limited, and only five hundred copies of the work have been printed. The object of the present work is to illustrate the earlier Stall-Plates, eighty-five in number, being the remaining memorials of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, of Knights elected under the Plantagenet Sovereigns from Edward III, Founder of the Order, to Richard III, inclusive, together with three palimpsest plates and one of later date, or eighty-nine plates in all. The Stall-Plates are represented full-size, and in colours, on Japan vellum, in exact facsimile of the originals, in the highest style of chromo-lithography, from photographs of the plates themselves. Each plate is accompanied by descriptive and explanatory notes, and the origin and general characteristics of the Stall-Plates are fully dealt with in an historical introduction. There are also included numerous seals of the knights, reproduced by photography from casts specially taken for this work.

The work, in a word, forms a most beautiful and invaluable addition to the records of heraldry during an early and important period of the nation's history. A special binding for the work when completed can be supplied at 21s. net, particulars of which may be had on application. It is proposed to issue a succeeding volume, illustrating the Stall-Plates of the Tudor Period (1485 to 1603).



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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
British Archaeological Association.

SEPTEMBER 1901.

ZOOLOGY ON BRASSES, CHIEFLY FROM
GLOUCESTERSHIRE EXAMPLES.

BY CECIL T. DAVIS, ESQ.

“Whoever gives a paire of velvet shoes
To th’ Holy Rood, or liberally allows
But a new rope to ring the couvre-feu bell,
But he desires that his great deed may dwell,
Or graven in the chancel window glasse
Or on his lasting tombe of plated brasse.”

BISHOP HALL’S FOURTH SATIRE.

Temple Bar, July, 1895, p. 411.



MONUMENTAL Brasses prove of very great interest to many classes: the architect, the artist, the chronologist, the genealogist, the herald, the palæographer, the general antiquary, all can turn to brasses therefrom to learn very much relating to their special branch of knowledge. Over and above their simple devotional character, which must ever endear them to Christian antiquaries, monumental brasses will ever possess a paramount degree of value and utility as evidence of costume, as a treasury of heraldic knowledge, as well as of the arts and customs generally of former times.

In this paper I have the pleasure of bringing before the British Archæological Association some notice of various

animals which may be found engraven on our old monumental brasses. And here let me say that no description will be given of those which appear as charges on shields.

The mediæval sculptor was very fond of introducing representations of animals into his compositions; and by the observing eye they will be noticed on misereres, capitals, gargoyles, &c., in our old churches. Wherever enrichment is found, there animal life will be delineated.



Fig. 1.—Lion, 1401, Dyrham Gloucestershire.

The king of beasts figures largely on brasses. From time immemorial the lion has been symbolical of power and fearlessness. At Mycenæ there were lions at the gates, to tell incomers in plain unmistakeable language of the strength and courage leonine of that city. The lion often figures as a supporter of the feet of a knight or warrior bold; sometimes full face, sometimes looking straight ahead. The engraver has tried to throw a look of fierceness into its face, and the tawny mane and tufted tail are much in evidence. Sir Morys Russel is said to have been

the founder of Dyrham Church, wherein he lies buried (fig. 1).

Though the lion was of old a symbol of rank and power, and the embodiment of material force as exemplified by appearing on military brasses, yet it is to be found on the brasses of judges, who as delegates of the Sovereign were distinguished by emblems of power when sitting in court; and after death the lion appears on their monuments, as a fitting allusion to the power they had the privilege of wielding during their life. Sir John Cassey came of an old Gloucestershire family, and was appointed Chief Baron



Fig. 2 — Lion, 1400, Deerhurst, Gloucestershire.

of the Exchequer in 1389. His monument is in the Parish Church of Deerhurst (fig. 2).

The lion again appears as the winged lion, the symbol of St. Mark.

Next to the lion comes the dog, the personification of fidelity. Not that trash which Seneca so justly condemns: *Pretio parata vincitur pretio fides* (Fidelity bought with money is overcome with money), but of the kind "George Eliot" portrays in the *Spanish Gypsy*:—

"Faithfulness can feed on suffering,
And knows no disappointment."

Place aux dames, so let us consider first the dogs represented with ladies. They are often found as lapdogs, lying on the ladies' skirts and looking up into their mistresses' faces. A collar of bells, sometimes as many as eight, is around the neck. The dogs belong to a smooth-haired breed, with pendant ears and a curling tail (figs. 3 and 4).



Fig. 3.—Dog, 1392, Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 4.—Dog, c. 1400, Northleach, Gloucestershire.

Chaucer, in his description of the “gentle Prioress” says :—

“Of smale houndes hadde she, that she fedde
With rosted flesh or milk, and wastel breed ;
But sore wept she if one of them were deed,
Or if men smote it with a yerde smart.”

In that curious work on domestic economy, entitled the *Menagier de Paris*, written about the year 1393, the lady of the household is particularly recommended to think of the “bestes de chambre,” such as little dogs, insomuch as

these creatures not having the gift of speech, could not ask for themselves: "*Item, que par la dicte dame Agnes vous faciez principalement et diligemment penser de vos bestes de chambre comme petits chiens car ils ne peuvent parler, & pour ce vous devez parler et penser pour eux si vous en avez.*"

At Deerhurst is an interesting example of a dog which is shown as a supporter for Lady Cassey's feet. It is evidently a favourite, for beneath is its name, "*Terri*" (fig. 5). The only other known instance in which the



Fig. 5.—Dog, 1400, Deerhurst, Gloucestershire.

name is given was on a brass formerly at Ingham, Norfolk, where the pet's name was "*Jakke.*"

At the feet of Richard Dixon lies a dog with uplifted head. The dog here represents the fidelity of a servant to his master (fig. 6). Richard Dixon was squire to the ill-starred Richard of York, father of Edward IV, and died in 1438. His will is printed in the *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*.

Let us now turn to a late example, Philip Marner, a clothier at Cirencester, 1587. On a round cushion by his right side is seated a small dog, with a collar but no bells (fig. 7). The inscription speaks of his benefactions.

I propose next to deal with the sheep.

In the *Libel of English Policy*, written about 1436, reference is made to the wool trade of the Cotteswold district. The names Cotteswold and sheep have been joined together for many years, and the hills are still

famous for sheep with long wool. The Romans found sheep among the domesticated animals of the Britons, and soon appreciated the value of the wool by founding a factory; and the worth of the manufacture was quickly recognised by the Britons, of whom Tacitus remarks in *Agricola*, cap. 21, "*Inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga.*" From this time onwards English wool was esteemed as very fine and most suitable for making



Fig. 6.—Dog, 1438, Cirencester, Gloucestershire.

the most renowned fabrics. Our English cloth was surpassed by that woven in the Low Countries, but our raw material was the best, and the silky but tough fleeces of the Cotteswold sheep commanded a high price. A great quantity was exported to the Low Countries, and amongst the imports in return were the latten plates used for the memorials termed Monumental Brasses. This is

one reason why in Gloucestershire there exist so many of this interesting class of memorials within the churches of the wool-growing districts : witness Chipping Campden, Cirencester, and Northleach, and the town also on the



Fig. 7.—Dog, 1587, Cirencester, Gloucestershire.

hills but just beyond the borders of the county, viz., Chipping Norton, in Oxfordshire. Seeing that to sheep the departed worthies owed their wealth, no wonder then that on their monuments they placed representations of the sheep, and of the woolpack which was directly dependent on their flocks.

John Fortey, Northleach, 1458, has his right foot resting on a sheep, and his left on a woolpack. Rudder styles him a "wealthy clothier."

A woolman and wife at Northleach, c. 1485, have each the right foot resting on a sheep couchant, and the left on a woolpack. On the husband's woolpack is his merchant mark (fig. 8). It would be interesting to find out the name of this merchant. The engraving is of the period c. 1485, and the following names of about that



Fig. 8.—Sheep and Woolpack, c. 1485, Northleach, Gloucestershire.

date are taken from Wills proved in the P.C.C. :—1477, John Bussh ; 1493, Thomas Hall ; and 1496, John Newman.

John Taylour, Northleach, c. 1490, has the sheep standing on a woolpack, a shepherd's crook lying in front, and two crooks lying at right angles as a "mark" on the pack (fig. 9). It may be noticed that the modern crook is of the same shape as the ancient one. Further, it may be seen that the tail is not docked, as is now the custom on the Cotteswold Hills.

Thomas Bushe, Northleach, 1526. Here we have both

the woolpack and sheep as supporters, but the sheep is standing and has horns curled backwards (fig. 10). The same supporters appear beneath the feet of the wife, but reversed. A quaint rustic scene is shown in the pediment of the canopy:—a tree, possibly an oak, very conventional in its drawing, standing on a grassy mound, a sheep lying down near the trunk, and on either side of the mound is a sheep lying towards the centre; they are all horned and have long tails (fig. 11).

Anyone who has noticed lambs on a bright sunny day in spring may have seen such a glimpse of rural felicity very often; and I for one can enjoy the sight of the sportive lambs at play, and thus be refreshed with the



Fig. 9.—Sheep and Woolpack, c. 1490, Northleach, Gloucestershire.

thought that summer is at hand, and winter once more left behind.

There are two instances in Gloucestershire where the lamb is used as an emblem of our Saviour—the Lamb of God! Before the Cassey brass at Deerhurst was mutilated, a figure of St. John Baptist was represented between the gable and central pinnacle. Fortunately, rubbings of the brass are still extant before this portion was lost, and from one of these this illustration (fig. 13) is taken.

At St. Mary de Crypt, Gloucester, is the monument of John Cooke, an alderman, who was founder of the school well-known locally as the Crypt School. The centre pediment of the triple canopy is filled with St. John

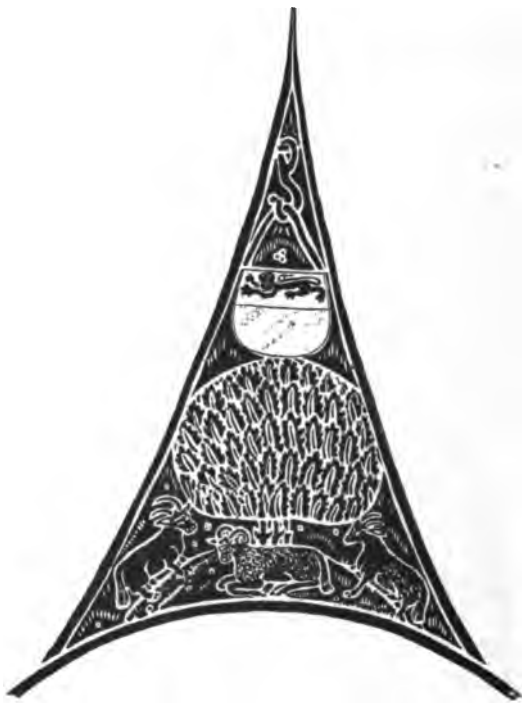


Fig. 11.—Canopy, 1526, Northleach, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 10.—Canopy, Sheep and Woolpack, 1526, Northleach, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 12.—St. John Baptist, 1544, St. Mary de Crypt,
Gloucester.

Baptist (fig. 12). The contrast in style between the two figures is very marked.

For other specimens, I now beg to call your attention to those which are represented as "breaks" in inscriptions.

The Fortey brass, Northleach, 1447, affords a capital illustration of this (fig. 14). Round the verge is an inscription, the spaces between each word being filled with various ornaments.

✠ Sub (rose) pede (rose) morte (rose) jacens (rose)
 Thomas (rose) ffortey (rose scroll)
 | (quadruped) Et (cock) sua (leaf) sponsa
 (boar) placens (hedgehog) Agnes (cinque-
 foil) sibi (fleur-de-lis) consociatur (rose
 and scroll-work) [Mercator dignus iustus
 uerax; benignus] (two dogs fighting)
 Noscitur (cinquefoil) in (crab) signis
 (blank) non (two fleurs-de-lis)
 [gaudens Ipe malignis] | Ecclesiarum
 (castle) suar; (dragon) viarum (fabulous
 monster) fit (?) Reparator (. . .) | Criste
 (goose) Suarum (leaf) sis (branches)
 miserator (rose and scroll-work) [mille
 quater centum] (an acorn between two
 oak-leaves) quater (slug) £ (fighting cock)
 septem (snail) monumentu (eagle displayed
 and scroll-work) [primo dat, flamen
 Deceni Ihs huc beat . . .]



Fig. 13.
 St. John Baptist,
 1400, Deerhurst,
 Gloucestershire.

Unfortunately it is not complete, and missing words have been supplied from the county histories.

The Rev. C. G. R. Birch, LL.M., has kindly sent me the following translation :—

"By death o'erthrown beneath your feet see Thomas Fortey lie,
 A noble merchant, just and true, well known his kindly life
 Dame Agnes too his spouse full sweet in like extremity.
 Which found no joy in others' woe, no gain in baleful strife,
 Churches and roads his bounty left in wise and full repair,
 Christ, let Thy soul with pity melt before his humble prayer,
 From Thy blest birth a thousand years, four hundred more also
 And forty-seven eke had passed ere he Thy bliss did know."

You may see a *slug* between "quater" and "£." The

artist here represents one of the *Limacidae*, and even shows the mantle (beneath which is the shell) of the slug slightly raised. Between the next two words is a *cock* just ready to start fighting, an amusement not unknown in this country in those days. Following we have a *snail*, such as causes so much havoc in our gardens. This is succeeded by an *eagle* with outstretched wings. On the next line we commence with two *dogs fighting*, in which much spirit is shown; then we have a *crab*, or rather *crayfish*. On the next line a *cow* starts, followed by another *cock* in the act of crowing, and a little further occurs a *pig*. This is so well graven that one can almost fancy you can hear the well-known porcine squeal. The *hedgehog* has not come out so well in the drawing; and had the artist a hidden meaning when he placed a hedgehog between "*placens*" and "*Agnes*"?

I am very much inclined to think that the artist who designed this memorial must have sketched these animals from nature, for they are, in my opinion, very true to life, and not conventionalised or adapted in the least. He did not confine his attention to the *mammalia*, but also chose examples from what are termed the lower orders of life. He found his copies or models in the fields around, so that one is tempted to say that this brass was not engraved in a workshop situated in a crowded town, but out in the fields. One would not often see the animals he has drawn roaming about the streets. The crayfish is often found in the Cottesswold streams.

At Tormarton, John Ceysyll, 1493, is another instance



Fig. 14.—Devices, 1447, Northleach, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 15.—Devices, 1493, Tormarton, Gloucestershire.

of “breaks” (fig. 15). The inscription is round the verge, and is as follows :—

Orate (oak-leaf) **pro** (three leaves springing from a crown) **Anima** (cinquefoil) **Johannis** (two acorns) **Ceysyll** (double triangle), | **Euondam** (a clover [trefoil] leaf) **famulus** (leaf) **Reuerendi** (Tudor rose, boss) **d'ni** (leaf) **Joh'is** (a flowered square) **Sendlow** (heart), **militis** (rabbit), **qui** (quadruped) **quidē** (oak-leaf and acorn) **Johannes** (leaves) **Ceysyll** (bunch of three cherries) **suum** (lily blossom) **clausit** (cherry and leaf), **extremū** (conventional) **in** (ditto) **Vigilia** (cap) **Sancti** (rose) **Bartholomei** (hare) **Apostoli** (a pod bursting and revealing the seeds) **Anno** (leaves) **d'ni** (goose ?) **Mill'mo** (a spread eagle) **CCCC** (bird flying) **lxxxiii** (goose preening her wings) **et** (goose with neck arched) **Anno** (crown) **Regni** (a rose barbed) **Regis** (leaf and double square) **Henrici** (a berry between two leaves) **septimi** (trefoil), **nono** (bell), **Cuius** (stringed instrument resembling a violin) **Anime** (pair of bellows) **propicietur** (apple ?) **de'** (●) **Altissimus** (leaf), **Amen**.

In English it may be rendered thus : “Pray ye for the soul of John Ceysyll, formerly servant of the reverend Lord Sendlow, Knight, which John Ceysyll indeed closed his last day on the eve [August 23] of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, A.D. 1493, and in the ninth year of the reign of King Henry VII. To whose soul may the most high God be merciful. Amen.”

After **Bartholomei** is a hare whose ears are rather conventionalised, but otherwise in this instance the designer has confined his attention to birds when he went to the animal kingdom for illustrations. We get one with outstretched wings, another flying, a third preening itself, and the next craning forward its neck, while another is standing sedately.

At Fairford we have a rare example of two brasses in the same church forming a memorial to the same persons. Possibly it was thought that it would be better to have one memorial on the floor to show the position of the grave, and the other on the wall, which should more prominently bring before those in the church the fact that Sir Edmond Tame and his two wives are buried here. At the end of the marginal inscription of the brass on the floor is "**Amen**," followed by a closed hand with index



Fig. 16.—Device 1534, Fairford, Gloucestershire.

finger pointing at a bird, which seems to be a lapwing or peewit, a bird common enough on the hills (fig. 16). At first we might think it was a charge taken from the armorial bearings, but neither Sir Edmond nor either of his wives has a bird on their coat-of-arms.

Mention has been already made of the symbol of St. Mark, a winged lion; here it might be added that a winged ox represents St. Luke, and an eagle is an emblem of St. John.

I add a few examples not taken from Gloucestershire brasses. William, Lord Zouch, 1447, is represented standing on two eagles or falcons, and by his wife are two lapdogs as before described. His monument is at Okeover, Staffordshire.

A civilian from Tilbrook, Bedfordshire, c. 1400, has one foot resting on a dog's haunch whilst the other is beneath the dog's head. The dog lying on his wife's skirt is larger than those usually shown on ladies' brasses. Notice the

pointed face of the hunting dog, as compared with the pug-nose of the lapdog.

At Digswell, Herts., is the brass to John Peryent and his wife Joan, 1415. Beneath John's feet is a talbot, and, in lieu of the usual dog, his wife has a rather unusual and spiny pet, a hedgehog.

At Great Tew is the brass of Sir John Wylcotes and his wife Alice, c. 1410. Here we have a hound beneath the husband's feet, and the usual lapdog at the lady's feet.

Two Sussex knights show the lions in different attitudes.

Thomas Seintlegier, of Otterden, Kent, 1408, affords a capital example of the hound; its collar is fastened somewhat similarly to the collars worn by the knights; and instead of an ornament, a ring for tying up purposes is pendent.

Illustrations of the foregoing may be seen in the Portfolio of the *Monumental Brass Society*.

Two late examples from Queen's College, Oxford, published by the *Oxford University Brass Rubbing Society*, are both dated 1616, and represent provosts.

On Dr. Airy's brass we have two bears destroying the children who mocked Elisha, and a unicorn drinking.

On Dr. Robinson's, three folds of sheep with three dogs watching same, three wolves prowling around attempting to enter the folds. This is the motto: "*Tamquam ligati, tamquam liberi.*" Another group represents Isaiah, ii., 6: "The wolf shall dwell with the lamb," with this motto: "Deadly feude extinct."

Sometimes the animals figured as supporters are taken from the crest of the family, as, *e.g.*, a bear muzzled, Isleham, Cambridge, 1451; an elephant, Tong, Salop, 1467; a whelk, Wollaton, Notts., 1467; a boar, Sawley, Derbyshire, 1477; an elephant and castle, Wyvenhoe, Essex, 1507; and other examples may be quoted.

Note.—The illustrations are one-quarter of the original rubbings, and are reproduced from *The Monumental Brasses of Gloucestershire*. London, Phillimore & Co., 1899.





LUTTERWORTH.

BY GEO. PATRICK, ESQ., A.R.I.B.A.

(Read at the Leicester Congress, 1900.)



THE earliest mention of Lutterworth, so far as I have been able to ascertain, is given in *Domesday Book*, where it is called Luttresurde, and then belonged to Ralph Wayer, Guader, or de Waer, as the name is variously spelt, who was a Norfolk man by birth, and by his mother's side of British parentage. William the Conqueror created him Earl of Norfolk and Suffolk. He, however, proved ungrateful, and traitorously did his utmost to expel the King; but, finding his schemes of no avail, he joined Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy, and became a crusader. He afterwards took the pilgrim's habit, and died, it is related, in great penitence. His lands were, of course, forfeited to the King, of whom Maino the Briton held Lutterworth as feudal tenant (at the time of the general Survey in 1086). According to the record, there were in Lutterworth thirteen ploughlands, which, with ten in Menstreton and two in Thorp, had been held by Earl Ralph. They employed nine ploughs, and were then worth £7. In the demesne¹ were three ploughs, two bondmen and one bondwoman. Six villeins, with seven bordars and twelve socmen, had four ploughs, and there were twelve acres of meadow. It would be interesting to be able to define accurately the relative conditions of these dwellers on the land.²

¹ The manorial residence and lands adjacent which the Lord reserved for his own use.

² The bondmen and the bondwomen were presumably slaves absolutely; but, according to Hallam, there were degrees of villenage,

The seven bordars seem to have been bondmen, who had to supply the lord with provisions. The twelve socmen were cultivators, more fortunate than others, who had by purchase been able to acquire freeholds, and they could not be removed. They are, in the words of the historian, the root of a noble plant, the free socage tenants, or English Yeomanry.

It is to Dugdale we have to look for the oldest account of Lutterworth; and Nichols, in his voluminous *History of Leicestershire*, goes at considerable length into the descent of the manor. I have consulted Burton, the earliest historian of the county, who wrote before 1622, and Nichols; and I find that the next proprietor of Lutterworth seems to have been Bertram de Verdon. Camden also describes Lutterworth "as a small market town, formerly, as report says, the possession of the Verdens; which only sheweth a faire church, which hath been increased by the Fieldings of knight's degree and ancient gentry in the shire."

In the reign of King John (1199 to 1216), a lady named Roise de Verdon, and her son, Nicholas de Verdon, founded an hospital, dedicated to St. John, which was for one priest and six poor men, and to keep hospitality for poor men travelling that way (Tanner's *Notitia*, fol. 243, *sub.* Lutterworth). The hospital was situated near the river Swift, but no remains of it exist at the present day.

Roise de Verdon died in 1247. In 1258, John de Verdon, her son, obtained a charter from the King for free warren for himself and his heirs in all his demesnes, including Lutterworth. From the Verdens the manor passed by marriage to the Ferrers' of Groby. Henry de Ferrers, knight, who died in 1387, held the manor and the advowson of the church, valued then at forty marks, and also the advowson of the hospital of St. John.

Burton says: "It appears from the escutcheons cut on stone on the East wall of the Chancel over the Great East window, to have been built by Lord Ferrers." By

and, though bound to remain upon the land, the villeins were free men, subject to certain services.

marriage again the manor passed from the Ferrers' to the Greys, ancestors of Sir Edward Grey, husband of Elizabeth Woodville, afterwards Queen of Edward IV. Upon the attainder of the Marquess of Dorset and Duke of Suffolk of this family in 1554, the manor reverted to the Crown, in whose possession it seems to have remained until the reign of Charles I, who, in 1628, granted the manor to the Mayor and Commonalty of London; the next year it was sold for £1,650 to Basil Fielding, Esq., a descendant of the old family of the same name, who were resident here in the fifteenth century, and whose memorials are in the church, who were ancestors of the present lord of the manor, the Earl of Denbigh.

A somewhat unusual bequest was made to the town of Lutterworth by Richard Elkington, of Shawell, who, by his will, dated May 29th, 1607, devised to the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of Leicester, as trustees, the sum of £50, to be lent in sums of £10 each, to five of the tradesmen of Lutterworth, for the term of one year, at 5 per cent. interest, the interest to be divided amongst certain poor persons. In default of applications the money was vested in land, which was sold under a decree of the Court of Chancery, and realised £1,000, that sum being (in 1835) lent in sums of £50 for three years at 3 per cent. interest (*Lewis' Topographical Dictionary*). Does this operate at the present day?

I now proceed to speak of the church itself, which possesses many very interesting features, irrespective of its associations with the great reformer, John Wickliff: those I will touch upon later. The church of Lutterworth is dedicated to St. Mary, and if any church existed here previous to the oldest portions of the present building, there are no evidences remaining above ground; and I have not met with any record or mention of a church here in Saxon or Early Norman times. The plan of the church consists of a nave with north and south aisles, chancel, and massive tower at the west end.

There is no west door, but there are north and south doors, the latter having a porch of modern date.

No part of the present building, I think, can be attributed to an earlier date than the thirteenth century, to

which period may be assigned the tower. The belfry stage, however, has been altered, the panelling and pinnacles being of later date. The nave arches and the chancel may also be of late thirteenth-century date. It would seem that early in the fourteenth century very considerable rebuilding was undertaken, and the present south aisle is of that period. A similar window to that of the east end of the south aisle was to be seen at the Friary, Reading, and is figured in the text-books by Parker as of about 1306. I am inclined to think the Early English church had no clerestory, but a roof of similar pitch to that of the chancel, though necessarily at a higher level. In the south wall of the chancel is one lancet window remaining, and the priest's door with trefoil head, the head being new. There are also a trefoil-headed piscina in the chancel, and in the north wall a square-headed aumbry, both of the Early English period.

This church affords some good examples of the various forms of window tracery; that at the west end of the north aisle being a typical example of what is known as convergent and divergent tracery, and as such is illustrated in Freeman's book—on "Gothic Window Tracery;" its date probably is from 1350 to 1360. In the south aisle at the west end, and in the middle of the side wall, are two examples of intersecting tracery of the date, probably, of 1325. Sometime in the fifteenth-century further alterations appear to have been taken in hand, at which time, I think, the present clerestory was added to the nave, and the chancel arch remodelled. You will notice it has no capitals or neckings, but the mouldings follow continuously round, from base to base; moreover, the jambs are flat and wide, and have a succession of traceried panels, indicative of a late period. It is almost impossible to define the exact date of these alterations or the nature of them, owing to the modern decoration on the walls; and it may be that the chancel arch is of the same date as the nave arcades and tower arch, altered in the fifteenth century to what we see now. The hagioscope on the north side of the chancel arch was probably cut through the wall at the same period. Mr. Neale says nearly all the fourteenth-century churches in

Leicestershire had clerestories added in the fifteenth century, Gaddesby being one exception. In an engraving of Lutterworth Church, dated 1792, there is no lancet window shown in the chancel, south side, and the porch seems to have been of timber with a thatched roof. The Guild of Lutterworth had a chantry within this church, founded by Edmund Muryall, to find one priest, called a Guild, priest to celebrate divine service within the parish church of Lutterworth, and to pray for the souls of the founder and others. The clear value of it was £2 3s. 10*d.* This chantry was situated at the east end of the south aisle, where a decorated piscina still remains. It has been said that a room existed over it, but of that there is no evidence remaining; but Nichols, quoting from the original certificate in the Augmentation Office, under the dates 1553 and 1554, says: "At that date the said room was void, and no priest there resident; nor is there any plate, jewels, or any other ornaments to the same belonging." The room may have been a portion of the church screened off for the priest's residence. In 1534 and 1535, the Rectory was valued at £34 13s. 4*d.* The tower of the church was originally surmounted by a lofty spire, but in a furious storm in 1703, the spire was blown down upon the roof of the nave, which was partly destroyed, and much damage done to the fabric of the church: so much so that a *brief* was granted to procure a national collection for the necessary repairs. Nichols also states that in 1761 the church was entirely repaired; new pews of oak, pavement of chequered stone, and everything new in church and chancel, except the pulpit. Perhaps it was at this time that the beautiful chancel screen which is known to have once existed, was destroyed; some remains of it may be seen preserved in the chancel. The rood-loft was approached directly from the interior of the church; the recess in the wall to the south of the chancel arch indicates the position of the stairs.

In the *Archæologia* for 1880 is a notice of the discovery of a glass bottle in the foundations of the west wall of the north aisle, which seemed to have been deposited there, quickly and with secrecy. The bottle was of seventeenth-century date, and its mysterious burial was probably

for a charm against witchcraft, or for the cure of certain diseases.

In the pulpit are preserved all that remains of the carved panels of what is said to have been the original pulpit used by Wycliffe: which is quite likely to have been the case, as they are elegant in design, and of the date of the fourteenth century.

Lutterworth Church is one of the many churches which still retains examples of coloured wall decoration, for almost every Early church at one time possessed more or less mural painting. These paintings are commonly, but erroneously, called "*frescoes*." I must emphasise that word, as these paintings are not frescoes. Fresco painting is a different process, requiring the colours to be mixed with lime and incorporated with the plaster, while the latter is wet. "*Tempera*" is the correct term to use in describing these and all similar wall decorations in our churches. There are remains of what may be late thirteenth or early fourteenth-century decoration on the arches on the north side of the nave. Over the north door is a curious painting of the fourteenth century. The meaning of the painting is not very clear; the three figures, which are full-size, may be intended to represent, as has been suggested, Richard II and his Queen, Anne of Bohemia, with John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, who claimed to be King of Castile. Apparently, they are engaged in hawking or hunting. The late Mr. Bloxam was inclined to think the two Kings were meant to be Edward II and Edward III, but he did not account for the lady. There have been several interpretations suggested, but none sufficiently conclusive. In the *List of Churches having Mural Decoration*, published by the Science and Art Department, this painting is called "*Les Trois Vifs*;" it is not, however, a correct illustration of this subject.

"*Les Trois Rois Morts et Les Trois Rois Vifs*" was a very popular subject in the Middle Ages, and was intended to impress upon beholders the vanity of earthly greatness and rank. The three Kings, in such a subject, are represented sometimes on horseback, sometimes on foot; bearing hawks on their wrists, and going forth in all

joyousness to the chase; they meet with three skeletons, who, like themselves, were kings in their day of life; the moral being that such as they are, will the Kings themselves soon be. This painting, there is little doubt, must often have been seen by Wycliffe. I am informed there was another over the south door, but it was so mutilated and undecipherable that, at the restoration some years ago, it was destroyed. I venture to think it was a pity to destroy it. With regard to the painting over the chancel arch of the "Doom, or Last Judgment," it is questionable whether it is earlier than the fifteenth century. There are some examples of this subject of an earlier date, but the majority belong to the fifteenth century; and, as I have already pointed out, to my mind the chancel arch and clerestory are to be attributed to that period: I consider it likely this painting was then introduced. The space over the chancel arch was the usual place for illustrating the "Doom," but occasionally it is found elsewhere. This example is lacking in several of the features usually accompanying this subject. I do not notice, for instance, St. Michael weighing souls, nor the condemned being dragged off to torment, nor the figure of the demon, nor the mouth of hell, usually represented by a huge fish. It is a very curious painting, and in very good preservation. The remainder of the decoration in the church is quite modern, of only a few years since.

The monuments in the church are not numerous, but the altar-tomb of the fifteenth century, beneath the arch in the north aisle, known as the Fielding monument, deserves attention, and the two brasses close by to members of the same family are interesting (Mr. Oliver will tell us something about them presently).

Noticeable as this church is for its architectural features, its chief and abiding interest is due to its intimate and personal connection with the illustrious churchman and earliest of the Reformers, John Wycliffe. It is to him, and through his close associations with the parish as its rector for rather more than nine years, that the quiet market-town of Lutterworth has obtained its world-wide celebrity. Mr. Lach-Szyrma's paper, on

"Wycliffe and his Times," clearly sets forth the history of the period at which Wycliffe lived, and his influence upon the Church of his day, and successive generations for all time.

The actual date of Wycliffe's birth is uncertain; he is thought to have been born in 1324. Leland, in his *Collectanea*, gives "Wycliffe" in Yorkshire as his native place, where a family of that name had been settled from the Norman Conquest. The first time we hear of Wycliffe, he (according to Mr. Moberly, in his *Life of William of Wykeham*) comes before us as "one of the King's clerks or chaplains at Windsor, under Langham, who, as Chancellor, had the especial management of the Royal Chapel. He was one of the acutest theologians of the day, with great dialectical skill and force, derived from the Oxford Schools." Camden speaks of him as "a man of a close subtil wit, very well versed in the sacred Scriptures, who, having sharpened his pen against the Pope's authority and the Roman Church and religious men (meaning by 'religious men' the mendicant friars), was grievously persecuted, etc." The Pope had revived the claim of homage and tribute from England, and demanded the payment of arrears. Wycliffe wrote a spirited rejoinder, and asserted that England was under no obligation whatever to pay tribute to the Pope. This was his first appearance in history; and, as Canon Pennington, in his *Life and Times of Wickliff*, says, "he comes before us only indistinctly through the mists of ages. Many facts relating to him are involved in obscurity, and are still subjects of controversy; and even when he comes forward prominently on the world's high stage, the notices of the scenes in which he acted are so meagre and unsatisfactory, that they convey to us only an indistinct impression of his form and features, as he moves amid the mighty throng of ecclesiastics, statesmen, and warriors."

Wycliffe was appointed to the rectory of Lutterworth by the King, Edward III, in April, 1375. The exact date of Wycliffe's appointment to the rectory of Lutterworth was April 7th, 1375, as is shown by an extract from the *Patent Roll*, 48 Edward III, Pt. 1, No. 291, mem. 23, as is mentioned in the *Transactions of the*

Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society, vol. viii. It was not in the Royal gift at that time, as it is now, but the King appointed, because the patron, Lord Ferrers, was a minor. Although we may see Wycliffe but indistinctly in the political history of his time, yet here, in quiet Lutterworth, and more particularly in the church, in which we can be certain that he worshipped, ministered, and was buried, he seems to come before us with reality. In the quietude of his study in the old rectory house, long since demolished, the "Morning Star of the Reformation," as he has been called, wrote many of his famous treatises, and completed his great work of the English translation of the Latin Bible. It was from Lutterworth went forth the clerks he had trained, his "poor priests," to Leicester, as a centre from which they travelled over the country, barefoot, with staff in hand, and clad in long russet gowns, or cassocks, down to their heels, on their mission of faith and love, to preach the Divine Word in every village and town. To quote again from Canon Pennington's book: "Tradition, too, informs us that every morning, after he had been engaged in the exhausting work of superintending the movements of that band of poor priests, this man, who shook the pillars of the Papacy, on whom the eyes of the King, the Pope, statesmen, prelates and priests were fixed, might be seen in Lutterworth in the active discharge of his duties as a parish priest." "He preached also to his flock by the silent eloquence of a holy life," as was admitted even by his enemies, for they could say nothing against him in that respect. Here then, and in such a manner, the last years of his life were passed. Here, in this church, he expounded those truths which have had such momentous results; and it was here, whilst engaged in assisting in the sacred office of celebrating the Holy Eucharist, that he was seized for the second time with paralysis. He was carried out of the church in a chair into the vestry, but he never spoke again; for his tongue, which had been so eloquent in proclaiming the truth of Scripture, was palsied, and he passed away on Innocents' Day, December 28th, 1384. For nearly forty-four years his body rested in peace in its grave in the chancel, until

that mournful day in 1428 when, in fulfilment of the decree of the Council of Constance, his remains were disinterred, carried out through the door in the south side of the chancel, down to the waterside by the bridge, and there burnt. His ashes were cast into the little river Swift; and thus it came to pass, in the quaint language of the old church historian, Fuller: "this brook ran into the Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas; they into the main ocean; and thus his ashes are the emblem of his doctrine, now dispersed over all the world."

One would like to be able to believe in the genuineness of the so-called relics of Wycliffe exhibited in the church. Regard for archæological truth and consistency, however, oblige one to point out that the chair in the chancel, in which he is said to have been carried out when seized with his last illness, is, at the least, of some two centuries later date; also that the fine carved oak table at the west end, at which he is said to have worked and distributed food to the poor, is of the Jacobean period, and a fine example, but it could never have been used by Wycliffe. The same remark, I fear, applies to the two oak candlesticks. The embroidery now preserved in a glass case, and said to have been a portion of a vestment worn by him, is so fragmentary, it is impossible to say whether it originally formed part of an altar-frontal or a cope; the most that can be said is that it appears to be of late fourteenth-century date.





A GROUP OF TRANSITIONAL-NORMAN FONTS (NORTH-EAST CORNWALL).

BY ALFRED C. FRYER, PH.D., M.A.



AN interesting group of nine Transitional-Norman fonts are met with in the north-east of Cornwall. They all possess a strong family likeness, and were doubtless constructed a few years before the close of the twelfth century. The upper part of the bowl is square, and each side is adorned with a long-petalled flower, which is occasionally called the "Passion-flower pattern." Two serpents encircle this geometrical figure, and at the angles of the bowl are four human heads.

These nine fonts may be seen at Altarnon (St. Non), Callington (St. Mary), Jacobstow (St. James), Landrake (St. Peter), Laneast (SS. Sidwell and Gulval), Launceston (St. Thomas the Apostle), Lawhitton (St. Michael), and at Warbstow (St. Werburga). They are not equally good and accurate in workmanship, and the stone employed in their construction, as well as their dimensions, varies considerably. The font in the church of St. Thomas the Apostle, Launceston, has a bowl with a depth of 13 ins. (inside measurement), while the one at Landrake is only 8 ins. deep. The depth of the outside of the bowls show great variation; the one at Laneast is 25 ins. in depth, while the one at Callington is only 15 ins. The diameter of the bowl at Callington is 19 ins., while the one at Launceston is 24 ins. The bowls at Altarnon, Jacobstow, and Lezant, have a circumference at the bottom of more than 90 ins., while the one at Laneast is only 66 ins. The stone from which these fonts were constructed is very different. The bowl and shaft at Jacobstow was formed out of one boulder of granite,

Polyphant stone was employed for those at Launceston and Lawhitton; while a freestone, brought from the quarries at Pentewan, near St. Austell, was used in the construction of the bowl at Lancaest.

The bowls have all plain rims, with the exception of the one at Lancaest, and the accompanying illustrations



Callington.

show the ornamentation. Although the rims, with one exception, are unadorned, yet the bottom of the bowls at Altarnon, Callington, and Warbstow, are encircled with the cable pattern.

The heads at the four angles of the bowls are studies in themselves. Some are badly carved, like those at Landrake, Jacobstow, and Warbstow; while those on the fonts at St. Thomas the Apostle, Launceston, and at Altarnon, are well executed. The font at Altarnon has,



FONT AT WAREBSTOW.



FONT AT LEZANT.



FONT AT ALTARNON.



FONT AT LANEAST.

at one time, been brilliantly coloured, and the faces are still flesh-coloured and the hair is black. All nine fonts have faces at the angles, with the exception of Laneast and the mutilated font at Lezant. At Lezant all the angles have been cut away; but at Laneast three of the angles are adorned with heads, while the fourth has a branch with seven leaves carved in low relief.

Two serpents—or, more correctly, one serpent with two heads—encircle the geometrical pattern, and are depicted upon all the bowls. They are represented with extended jaws and forked tongues. Those at Altarnon, Callington, Laneast, and Launceston,¹ are particularly well executed.

The geometrical pattern varies slightly. Eight petal-flowers are found on the bowls at Callington and Warbstow, while on the north face of the latter font, a four-petal flower is carved. All the other geometrical patterns are six petal-flowers. The only exception to the repetition of this flower-pattern is met with on the font in the Church of St. Mary at Callington, where the south face of the bowl is adorned with a conventional plant with three blades on each side of the stalk, and above it a small cross,² while the east face has two conventional plants with several leaves on each side of the stem.

Each bowl is placed on a low octagonal shaft resting on a large circular base. These pedestals are unadorned, with the exception of the one at Launceston, which is finely fluted, having foot ornaments at the angles of the plinth.

Several of the fonts have suffered mutilation. The fine bowl at Lezant has had the four angles sliced off, so that it now presents the appearance of an octagonal bowl.³ The lower part of the bowl of the font at Warbstow, and the west side of the bowl at Lawhitton, has the geometrical pattern cut away, and the east face has the bottom of the pattern seriously injured. The

¹ This font is illustrated in Paley's *Baptismal Fonts*, and in *The Histories of Launceston and Dunheved*, by R. and O. B. Peter, p. 359. The illustration in the first-named book is not quite correct, as the serpents encircling the geometrical pattern are not given, and there is no mention of the serpents in the letterpress accompanying the illustration.

² This ornamentation is enclosed in a semicircle, 20 ins. by 12 ins.

³ The corners have been sliced off about 16 ins. to 18 ins. deep, and 10 ins. to 14 ins. wide.

westernmost pillar of the south nave arcade at Lawhitton has been cut away on the west side; and it seems not unlikely that the bowl was damaged, in order to place it against this pillar.

The bowl and base of the font at Altarnon is carved out of one block of stone, which is unfortunately cracked. This is the only font which has been richly coloured; and at the top extending from each corner to the bowl is a groove, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide. It may be that these grooves held the four supports of a permanent canopy, possibly made of wood. This font, like most of the others, possessed a flat cover, for there are still the marks for the lock.

—	Depth of Bowl. (Inside measure- ment.)		Depth of Bowl. (Outside measure- ment.)		Diameter of Bowl at Top.		Top of Bowl.	Circumference of the Bowl at the bottom.	Diameter of the Geo- metrical Pattern.	Remarks.
	Ins.	Ins.	Ins.	Ins.	Ins.	Ins.				
Altarnon (St. Non)	12	21	$23\frac{1}{2}$	36×35	91	15				This bowl was originally painted in brilliant colours
Callington (St. Mary)	10	15	19	$28\frac{1}{2} \times 29\frac{1}{2}$	75	$12\frac{1}{2}$				Conventional plants adorn the south and east faces of this bowl.
Jacobstow (St. James)	10	17	$20\frac{1}{2}$	$32\frac{1}{2} \times 33$	$90\frac{1}{2}$	13				The bowl and shaft are cut out of one block of granite.
Landrake (St. Peter)	8	22	20	30×28	71	13				This is a very shallow bowl.
Laneast (SS. Sidwell and Gulval)	10	25	$21\frac{1}{2}$	$29\frac{1}{2} \times 26$	66	$12\frac{1}{2}$				This bowl has an ornamental rim, 3 in. deep.
Launceston (St. Thomas the Apostle)	13	20	24	$35\frac{1}{2} \times 34$	$84\frac{1}{2}$	15				This font is one of the most perfect in the whole series.
Lawhitton (St. Michael)	10	22	21	30×31	73	$14\frac{1}{2}$				Two sides of the bowl are mutilated.
Lezant (St. Brooke)	12	19	$20\frac{1}{2}$	—	96	16				Before the bowl was mutilated, the top would measure 34×32 in. The angles have all been cut off.
Warbstow (St. Werburga)	11	16	20	33×33	82	13				The lower portion of the bowl is damaged.



WYCLIFFE.

BY REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A., VICAR OF BARKINGSIDE.

(*Read at the Leicester Congress, 1900.*)



IF one wanted to know the social life of England in the age between Crescy and Agincourt, *i.e.*, the era of Edward III, Richard II, Henry IV., and Henry V (one of the most attractive ages of English history), I should recommend the study of Chaucer, Piers Ploughman, and, above all, of Wycliffe. These three give one a fair idea, which we may supplement by the multitude of archæological remains scattered all over England, by Shakespeare (who, however, saw the age through “renaissance spectacles”), and by the established histories. But the three contemporary writers are the most trustworthy guides. In Chaucer we have the view of a poet and satirist; in Piers Ploughman, the denunciation of a mediæval prophet; in Wycliffe, of a philosopher and a great preacher.

The first idea of the “man-in-the-street” about Wycliffe is that he was a religious reformer. So he was. But he was much more beside that. He was a political philosopher, an economist, a critic, a learned academician. Like Plato, Wycliffe was an idealist who formed grand ideal conceptions, that he never could have hoped to carry out. Like Plato, he thought of a society—an England such as he conceived England ought to be, and which he contrasted forcibly with the real England of the age of Richard II, just as Plato thought out in his *Politeia* an ideal Greek city (such as neither Greece nor any other land has ever known). Like Plato, again, he

is in some points quite modern—a man of the nineteenth, or, perhaps, of the coming twentieth century, discussing modern thoughts, but robing these thoughts in the forms of feudal England. The very subjects still debated in modern Europe—socialism, the lawfulness of war (on which Wycliffe might have been claimed, in some of his sayings, as a member of the Peace Society before the time), the lawfulness of serfdom (on which he spoke plainly), financial reform, the rights of labour, the elevation of the working classes, the evils of luxury—all these, and many more modern subjects are discussed by him in quaint middle-English or in ecclesiastical Latin. He is in some places an essayist and a leader writer: only he expresses his views more forcibly and vehemently than most leader writers or essayists of our day would venture to use, or respectable editor would care to publish.

The basis of Wycliffe's political philosophy was his theory of the *Dominium*. It was an application of the feudal idea to all property. He held that God was Supreme Sovereign and ultimate proprietor of all things on earth, and that men held their wealth and property as stewards during good conduct, and on condition of fealty and obedience to the King of Kings. Thus all things belonged, under God, to the good people of the earth; and the evil, as rebels, deserved to possess nothing. The logical consequence of this would be that a rich man would only hold property as long as he behaved well and kept the commandments. If he was a bad man his tenants need not pay him rent, nor, indeed, anything; he was a rebel and outlaw from the Divine-ruled society. The scheme was never worked out. It looked attractive to the enthusiasts of the Middle Ages, but it presented some practical difficulties, *e.g.*, Who was to decide whether a man deserved property, or did not? or, again: What moral offences were to be included? If his tenants and debtors were to be his judges, probably a severe view would be taken of him. Few of our writers are more severe on the wickedness of the rich than Wycliffe, or more lenient and merciful to the faults of poor men. In this he quite anticipates the views of the Christian socialists.

"All things belonged to God, and all men held of Him *directly*. Only the good could hold property of Him truly, and every good man possessed all things. The bad possessed nothing, although they seemed to possess" (*vide Trevelyan*, pp. 198, 199) is a summary of his theory.

Wycliffe was a Yorkshireman, born in the Richmond district in 1320. His career at Oxford was most illustrious. He was Master of Balliol, and, perhaps, Warden of Canterbury Hall. Until he was about fifty, however, his fame was confined to the university. He there ripened his bold theories in contact with some of the leading intellects of the age. In studying Wycliffe's writings and history, one feels how like in some things the Oxford of 500 years ago was to our modern Oxford of 1900. Wycliffe is a typical Oxford don, but also an outspoken progressist and a radical reformer. One seems, as one reads some of his writings, still to have the atmosphere of the common room of a college about one, and to hear some learned fellow talking about the deep subjects that for ages have moved mankind. It is true that his logical divisions and Aristotelian form, combined with a Platonic spirit, are antique. But even now Oxford has not given up the tradition of the schools, and Aristotle is to this day a leading philosopher for "Greats."

As I read of Wycliffe at Oxford, or read his academic treatises, I cannot but be reminded of another Master of Balliol, whose aspect was familiar to me in my undergraduate days, and who shocked not a few conservative thinkers as much as Wycliffe did in his time. I should like to draw a parallel between Professor Jowett and Wycliffe; but I suppose it will be out of place, for many reasons. The two men were wonderfully alike in some points. As one looks at the history of Wycliffe in Oxford, one cannot help marvelling at how tolerant the Oxford of the fourteenth century was. Wycliffe hit hard at many, both in Church and State; he attacked freely the most cherished institutions and ideas, he propounded notions strange, original, and alarming. Yet Oxford listened to and admired him. For many years

he was a chief leader of Oxford thought; and Oxford stood by him in many ways for some time. His was pre-eminently one of the great Oxford movements of the Middle Ages. We have had others since: the Methodist movement of Wesley's time, the "Oxford movement" of the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1374 Wycliffe received the Crown living of Lutterworth; it is a Crown rectory to this day. At first he must have spent much of his time at Oxford, and have left his benefice of Lutterworth to a curate. But the times were coming when Oxford could no longer hold him. It is true the University still admired her great professor and philosopher. But the students and Masters of Arts were not England, and the bishops and the great lords were not as tolerant as Oxford. His good friend, John of Gaunt—the leading subject in England, the near "relative to so many kings, though never a king himself"—went in person to Oxford to warn John Wycliffe of the coming storm. But the reformer refused to be silenced. He must speak that which he believed was true. He broke with the Lancastrians, and so John of Gaunt returned from his bootless errand. Wycliffe then developed his theological system (of which this is hardly the occasion to speak, for some of his teachings are even now topics of controversy). What his teachings were we can now easily find; for, in spite of the destruction of most of his works in England, they were preserved in Bohemia, and have been printed and carefully edited by competent scholars. We can easily find out Wycliffe's teachings on almost every subject, as he has written voluminously; and probably most of his writings, or nearly all worth preserving, are with us to-day.

In 1381 arose the great peasants' rising, of which Wat Tyler's achievements are the best-known episode. The feudal government of Richard II did not excel. It showed at first great weakness. London fell into the hands of the rebels for a day or two, the Archbishop of Canterbury (Simon Sudbury) was beheaded, and England was on the verge of anarchy, when at last the monarchy and nobility triumphed, and the mob was put down.

Wycliffe's great statement of his revolt against the Church was in 1380; the rising was in 1381. Archbishop Courtenay (Wycliffe's old foe) succeeded the murdered Sudbury. Church and State combined. The forces of order coalesced. Courtenay seized his chance. He summoned the bishops to Blackfriars, and had a formal condemnation of Wycliffe. Oxford, however, stood by him for a time. The University was one of the most independent in Europe. It had then no resident bishop. Lincoln was some distance off; Canterbury was further still. Oxford was to some extent an *imperium in imperio* (as it still is; but then with scarcely any rival). It appears that Wycliffe was not present at the Blackfriars trial of his doctrine, and was either at Oxford or Lutterworth at that time.

If Oxford had been united, the University might have resisted the King (Richard II) and Archbishop Courtenay. But the struggle between the seculars and regulars weakened it. The monks and friars were, of course, dead against Wycliffe, who had scathingly accused them. Robert Rygge, the Chancellor, was strongly in favour of the rights of his University, and therefore in favour of Wycliffe. But he did not accept his theological views, and was no Lollard. He simply defended liberty of debate in the schools.

Nicholas Hereford, one of Wycliffe's followers, by his sermon against the friars at St. Mary's, the University Church, brought things to a crisis. Archbishop Courtenay sent down Stokes, a friar, to reprove the Chancellor of Oxford. Great excitement followed. "Town and gown" united for Wycliffe, and Stokes was in danger of his life.

Chancellor Rygge went to London to defend himself. It was an imprudent act. He had better have remained safe at Oxford till the storm was past. The Primate and the bishops frightened him. He apologised, and was forgiven at the intercession of the famous William of Wyckham (the founder of New College, who was much interested both in Oxford and the Church). Rygge consented to suspend Wycliffe and Hereford from teaching. He returned to Oxford, and at the King's command banished Wycliffe from Oxford.

It is doubtful if Wycliffe was at Oxford or at Lutterworth during this stormy time. Probably he was in his quiet rectory, while others fought his battles. Here, at any rate, he remained for the last five years of his life. He took no part, it seems, in the struggle of Oxford for its liberties.

Here at Lutterworth, in quiet seclusion, he laboured night and day with his pen, and in teaching his disciples. His life was the life of a scholar, and he probably divided his time between writing books or pamphlets, and his ministerial duties to his parishioners. The church has, I believe, been but little altered since Wycliffe ministered there (but of that our Association can be the best judges); in any case, we can imagine the scenes of Wycliffe's last labours.

But his influence was not confined to his parish, although he rarely left it. His disciple, William Swyn Derby, did a good work at Leicester, and made it a centre of Lollardry. Aston followed him in the Leicester work.

Wycliffe's most faithful friend and follower, who lived with him in Lutterworth Rectory, was John Purvey, who did much for his work after his death.

It is curious that Wycliffe does not appear to have been disturbed by either the Church or the "secular arm" at Lutterworth. No one seems to have attacked him. Perhaps the authorities were afraid of bringing him before public notice, and thought he was less dangerous in his quiet Leicestershire rectory than he would have been in Oxford or London. In a way they may have been right. He was still a power in the land, and had thousands of friends and admirers all over England. At any rate, he was let alone in the learned seclusion of his rectory, where those remarkable books and treatises which were to shake Europe in their direct or indirect effect, were composed. Wycliffe's books are not read now, except by a few; but even to a modern reader they have a certain fascination when one gets into the way of reading them. The author is so much in earnest, so outspoken in some points, so strong in invective, and yet in others so profound, that one can excuse and understand the fascination he once possessed on men.

Here, then, in Lutterworth, the old man studied, and wrote, and taught in the quiet of his rustic rectory, until December 28th, 1384, when, during divine service, while the curate was officiating, the venerable rector was stricken in Lutterworth Church with paralysis. He was borne out to the rectory (somewhat as Archbishop Benson was carried out at Hawarden, not long ago). He survived two days, and then expired on the last day of 1384—Rector of Lutterworth, and in full communion with the Church to the very last. Considering how outspoken and daring he was, and how many of his followers (but a few years afterwards) were burnt, one wonders at the patience and toleration of the Church in the days of Richard II. One would have expected excommunication, if not persecution, to have followed Wycliffe. But it was not so. Church and State were both tolerant of the Oxford professor and of the venerable philosopher and theologian.

Taken as a whole, I regard Wycliffe as the most charming of our mediæval religious writers and philosophers, as he is one of the most voluminous. Few mediæval authors are so much in touch with modern thought, or treat so largely on the subjects—political, social and religious—which still are largely debated, not only in Oxford common rooms, but by educated thinkers throughout Europe. Some of Wycliffe's *bon mots* may sound crude and antique, but they are worth considering.

His remarks on the corruption of the poor by the evil example of the rich are not out of place nowadays. "Now cometh example of pride, gluttony, and harlotry, from lords' courts to the commons." I have heard the same sentiments often in East London, though in modern words. As for the retainers of the barons, Wycliffe calls them "Proud Lucifer's children, extortioners, robbers, and rievvers."

As to the great question of national independence, Wycliffe was a patriot. "The Realm of England ought to be one body, and Clergy, Lords and Commonalty members of that body." As the Chancellor of Oxford said, Wycliffe's condemned propositions "were true, though they sounded badly to the ear." Perhaps this

criticism is what most Englishmen would say if they read over Wycliffe's quaint, fiery, outspoken, but often too impetuous attacks on mediæval thought and society.

But I must dwell no longer on the great Rector of Lutterworth and Master of Balliol. His works are with us. The art of printing has multiplied them to an extent he never could have expected. Yet, though often talked about, they are not much read. Still, they deserve more study than they receive, even though to modern Englishmen they "sound badly to the ear." They grow on the student, and expose powerfully the seamy side of mediæval England.

Was Wycliffe a failure? When he died he seemed so. Driven from the University he adorned, shut up in rural seclusion in his country rectory, one might have written "Ichabod" on his tomb. But it was not so. Some of his theories and views are now generally accepted by Englishmen, and others are gaining in the modern world. The mediæval society he denounced has passed away, and the modern world is much more in accordance with his ideal than with the England of Richard II. Even the rise of democracy, and the decline of the power of the nobles (which ensued on the Wars of the Roses and Tudor despotism), was in accordance with his prophecies. With all his disappointment, and the trials of his times, the Rector of Lutterworth and Master of Balliol has triumphed in England.



SKETCHES SHOWING SIMILARITY, AND ALMOST IDENTITY, OF
ROCK SCULPTURINGS ON CLYDESIDE DISCOVERIES TO THOSE ON
ROCKS AND OBJECTS DISCOVERED IN CENTRAL AUSTRALIA.

BY
MESSRS. SPENCER AND GILLEN.

The Clyde-side Discoveries were made in 1895.



Cochino; cup-and-ring rock known ten years before "Spencer and Gillen's" book on the Central Australian tribes was published. 8. On rocks at Auchintorlie, discovered 1895. 9. Auchintorlie, 1895. 10. Auchintorlie, 1895. 11. Design from rocks at Cochino. 12. Ornament on slate object got at Crannog Dumbuck. 13. Auchintorlie, 1895. 14. Cross within an ellipse, and amongst the groups of cups and rings on the Cochino group; this cross was discovered by Mr. W. A. Donnelly, Artist, Milton Bowling, in August, 1895. 15. Cochino rock carving; Footprints on rock surface near "cup-and-rings" designs, discovered 1895; two other footprints are near there, but have no toes; those depicted have only *four* toes.

Fig. 1. Nos. 1 to 6 are from Australia; Nos. 7 to 15 from Scotland.



SOME RESEMBLANCES
BETWEEN
THE RELIGIOUS AND MAGICAL IDEAS OF MODERN
SAVAGE PEOPLES
AND THOSE OF
THE PRE-HISTORIC NON-CELTIC RACES OF
EUROPE.

BY THE REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A.

(Read at the Newcastle Congress, July 1901.)¹



THE title of this Paper is somewhat long, because, out of the whole vast subject covered by the ideas "Magic" and "Religion," I only wish to touch upon a small area; the extent of which area could not be expressed in any shorter form of words that I could devise, viz., the resemblances that may be found between certain ideas on the subjects of "Religion" and "Magic," which are still in full force among savages to-day, and those which, from their remains, may be adjudged to have been held by the prehistoric non-Celtic races of Europe.

Anthropology, the youngest of the organized sciences, is still to a considerable extent in a state of flux; and students are very much divided as to what is proved and what is *sub judice* in the investigation of the ideas of primitive man. This is especially true in the sphere covered by this Paper, and the question whether the idea

¹ This Paper is printed out of the ordinary course, as it is in substance throughout, and particularly in the "Appendix," my reply to a Paper in *The Reliquary* for April 1901, entitled "Is the Dumbuck Crannog Neolithic?", by Dr. Robert Munro, F.R.S.E.

of "a high god" or of "high gods" is to be found among low savages is once more being hotly debated. On the whole, I am inclined to think that those who, on very strong evidence, hold that such an idea does exist, will eventually carry the day against the school represented by Mr. Tylor and his followers. Some evidence on this subject will be adduced, in the course of the following pages, from the statements of recent travellers, and others who have been associated with savages.

However, amid much that is uncertain, one sure canon may be found in the statement that man's mental development—and this includes his moral and spiritual progress—has travelled along certain lines which are constant, and that therefore at each stage of that development certain definite marks and characteristics may be looked for; and, conversely, that where those marks are found, that particular stage of culture, progress, or development may be predicated.

For example, it is generally conceded that the Tasmanian aboriginal, now extinct, represented almost the lowest type of man conceivable; that is to say, therefore, the earliest; and we are accordingly not surprised to find that the weapons and mode of life of the Tasmanian corresponded in a remarkable degree with those of the Palæolithic peoples of Europe. His weapons¹ were of rudely-worked flints, or other convenient stone; he lived in caves, and was before all things a hunter, a fisherman: not a keeper of flocks and herds or a tiller of the soil.

In many respects, indeed, Palæolithic man in Europe was more advanced than the Tasmanian. Physically, he was a far finer man; and, to judge from his personal ornaments and his artistic abilities, he was considerably more intellectually endowed. The Tasmanian, through the isolation of thousands of years, had no doubt not even remained stationary at a stage long since attained, but had degenerated from it; still, if the phrase may be

¹ The stone implements of some modern savages are quite as rude (as those of the Drift or river gravel), and some even ruder, as, *e.g.*, those of the Tasmanians, which were only flaked on one side, and were held in the hand; never fixed in any handle.—H. Ling Roth, *The Tasmanians*, pp. 156-8.

allowed, on a rough generalisation, it is absolutely correct to say that he represented, down to modern times, the Palæolithic stage of culture.

The Esquimaux, the Digger Indians, and the Bushmen of South Africa are in very much the same stage still, or were, until the European wave engulfed them; and the Esquimaux, as is well known, exhibit a marked similarity in their artistic tastes: drawing, with remarkable skill, the seal, the walrus, and the polar bear, with which they are familiar, as the Palæolithic hunter sketched the reindeer, the horse, and the mammoth which he knew so well.

But, so far, the similarities are merely external. Palæolithic man, to judge by the evidence available, had no religion,¹ although, like the Tasmanians and the Esquimaux, and others, he may have had some vague notion of a kind of spirit world, in which dwelt the ghosts of his departed ancestors. But he neither worshipped nor cajoled. There was neither magic nor religion.²

It is when we come to the next stage that we first see signs of both; the former leading up to and running into the latter. This stage is described as the Neolithic, from the character of its implements, weapons, etc., and it represents in Europe the prehistoric non-Celtic population of Ugrian or Iberian stock, represented to-day by the Basques at one extremity of the Continent, and the Finns at the other; and, in our own country, by the Silures in South Wales (who were the remnant of the former Neolithic population, which had fled westward before the Celts, as, later, the Romanised Celts fled before the Saxons), and by the Picts in Scotland. In each case the blood of the conquerors was mingled with that of the conquered: in that of the Picts, Goidelic; in that of the Silures, in the first instance also Goidelic, though in later days they adopted the Brythonic tongue from, and intermarried with, their neighbours, the Ordovices, of North Wales.³

¹ See, however, Lang, *Magic and Religion*, p. 15.

² A recent correspondence in *The Times*, however, points to possible traces of totemism and phallic worship even in the Palæolithic Age in Europe.

³ The whole question of the racial affinities of the Neolithic people

A multitude of affinities may be found between this prehistoric Neolithic population of Europe, and modern savage peoples in all parts of the world ; but it is to the region of magic and religion that we wish to confine ourselves now. The outward development has not followed the same lines : the Neolithic Age in Europe gave way to the Bronze, and that again to the Iron ; whereas, in Africa, for example, the Age of Stone has, in the case of many tribes, passed into that of Iron without a break. But the mental and spiritual development is constant ; and by a comparison of the present ideas of savage tribes, where they have been untouched by European civilisation, with the relics of the Neolithic population of Europe, we find our canon absolutely correct ; the resemblances are striking but not unexpected, and it becomes possible and perfectly legitimate to argue from one to the other ; *i.e.*, from the ideas of modern savage tribes we derive the understanding of the meaning of their charms, amulets, idols (where existing), rock-drawings, etc. ; and are at the same time enabled to grasp the meaning of all such things which remain to us as the legacy of our Neolithic ancestors.

If we study the account which Messrs. Spencer and Gillen have given us of the *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, a congeries of groups of families, hardly worthy of being designated by the name of *tribes*, still in the

of Europe and of our Islands, has been recently most ably considered by Prof. Rhys in his book on *The Welsh People*, pp. 1-35 ; and the argument is developed from the linguistic point of view by Mr. J. Morris Jones, in Appendix B of that book.

The conclusion arrived at is that the Picts represent the Neolithic strain in Britain down to historic times ; and that they, together with those of the Neolithic population who were absorbed by the Goidelic invaders, belonged to the great Berber race, which travelled westwards along the shores of North Africa and through southern and central Europe, and were finally driven to the extreme west in Brittany and the British Isles. Their line of march is everywhere marked by the megalithic monuments, menhirs, dolmens, cromlechs, stone circles, and avenues which have been the wonder and admiration of all succeeding races. The subject is well worth study, and I confidently ask the student to consult Prof. Rhys's book. While on this subject I may also recommend the concluding chapter of Dr. Munro's *Prehistoric Scotland* ; with which, as modified by Prof. Rhys's more recent research, I am happy to be in agreement.

Neolithic stage, and that at a low point; or the account given us by the late lamented Miss Mary Kingsley of the West African nations, peoples relatively more advanced, but still, where untouched by contact with European traders or missionaries, in an early stage of mental development characteristic of the Neolithic Age, though they have many of them actually passed into the Iron Age; or the accounts given us by earlier travellers of the manners and customs, and the ideas, magical and religious, which these evince, of other races in widely distant parts of the earth, in Central Asia, Siberia, North and South America, and the islands of the South Seas, including New Guinea, what do we find? We find this: that, amid a vast variety of customs, and many grades of development, dependent on environment, intercourse with other peoples, or isolation, and differences of family, social and tribal arrangements, arising from the circumstance whether the particular race is still in the stage of animism, or has passed on to totemism or fetishism, there is a common groundwork of ideas which cannot be mistaken.

This common groundwork is, (1) in the earliest stage of all, when man for the first time grasps the notion that "there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in his philosophy," the thought that all nature shares a common life, and that all things, rocks and stones, trees and plants, birds and beasts and men, are interchangeable the one with the other, under certain conditions.¹

A survival of this early mythologic idea may be observed even to classical times in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.²

(2) Then, secondly, arises the notion that the earth, sea, and sky are inhabited by myriads of spirits, the animating

¹ What strikes a European observer (of West African fetishism) is the lack of gaps between things. To the African there is perhaps no gap between the conception of spirit and matter, animate or inanimate. It is all an affair of grade, not of essential difference of essence.—Kingsley, *West African Studies*, p. 109; see also *Spencer and Gillen*, pp. 124, 517, etc.

² This is the phase of primitive thought, prevalent among prehistoric and modern savage people, to which Dr. Tylor gives the appropriate name of "Animism." It may be described as "the distinctive philosophy of primitive culture."—Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, caps. xi-xvii.

principle of each several object, and, following from that, the idea that these spirits can assume at will any form they happen to choose.

Whence arose this idea of a spirit-world, lying invisible behind the world of outward phenomena, and capable of taking form and substance as each spirit willed, and interchanging at will;¹ and the further idea of a spirit-part in man, pre-existing, transmigrating, and continuing its existence after death, we cannot say;² but most probably the *dream* theory is the one most consonant with facts.

(3) Thirdly, following on this again, at the next stage we arrive at the idea of a spirit-world transcending man, peopled with good and bad spirits, the former capable of being propitiated, the latter capable of being circumvented; and as a still later development, the idea of a great spirit at the head of all, the ruler of all the lesser spirits, good and bad, and of man.³

Few modern savage peoples have arrived at this latest stage in the development of the spiritual idea; though even among the Australians there are traces of it to be discovered in *Byamee* or *Durumulan*, the all-seeing Spirit; and the Red Indians had their "Great Spirit," *Okí* or *Kiehtan*, the great Manitou, and the West Africans their *Anzambi* or *Nyambi*, the Creator, who has retired from all active interest in the world. But it is doubtful whether this stage was ever attained by Neolithic man in Europe.

The propitiation of the good spirits, or Spirit, we call

¹ "One of the fundamental doctrines of Fetish is that the connection of a certain spirit with a certain mass of matter—a material object—is not permanent." "In every action of his daily life he shows you how he lives with a great powerful spirit-world all around him." Connected with this is something that looks like ancestor-worship, and fear of the ancestor's ghost, who will injure you by his "touch;" but this "touching" propensity arises not from malevolence, but from loneliness and a desire for company. "A great chief's spirit is a thoroughly useful thing for a village to keep going."—Kingsley, *op. cit.*, pp. 110, 112, 113; cf. *Travels in West Africa*, pp. 447, 448.

² Cf. *Spencer and Gillen*, pp. 128-166.

³ Kingsley, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-114 *et seq.*, and *Travels in West Africa*, pp. 429-547; Langloh Parker, *Australian Legendary Tales*, 1st and 2nd Series; Lang, *Magic and Religion*, *passim*.

religion, the circumvention of the bad we call *magic*; and seeing that the evil spirits are close by, ever active, on the alert, malevolent and powerful, while the good spirits are weak or careless, the study of man's early ideas on the subject of religion resolves itself for the most part into a study of magic. It became far more important, from a practical point of view, to know how to avert by spells and magical rites the influence of the bad spirits over your person, your family, your crops, your various possessions, than to invoke the assistance of the good.

Hence the origin of witchcraft, and the power and status of the witch-doctor, medicine-man, or wizard.¹ His is the knowledge which no others in the tribe possess, and which is jealously guarded, and only passed on from one to another by painful initiatory rites, by means of which the novice is made free of the guild, and succeeds to the power possessed by his predecessors.

All the world over, in every race that we know of in prehistoric and historic times, religion passed through the stage of magic, which we still find, in larger or smaller degree, among modern savage peoples, before it finally

¹ A distinction must be drawn here. Witchcraft is of two sorts : (1) That potent power possessed by certain persons under the influence of evil spirits, by which they "bewitch" you, and cause all sorts of evil things—disease, calamity, loss of various kinds—to befall you ; which power constitutes them "witches." (2) That spoken of in the text, and which belongs to the "priesthood" (for "doctor" and "parson" are combined among savages), by which the "witch's" spells are averted, and the diseases, calamity, etc., provoked by those spells, which set in motion the agency of the evil spirits, are cured or conquered, and the evil spirits themselves overcome. In West Africa, witchcraft No. 1 is hated—a witch is torn to bits ; but this is only the surging up of hatred arising from terror. The mere keeping of a familiar power is not held vile in West Africa. Everyone does it. There is not a man, woman, or child, who has not several attached spirits for help and preservation from danger and disease. It is keeping a spirit for bad purposes only that is hateful ; and the business of the Fetish Man is to guard the community from being bewitched.—Kingsley, *op. cit.*, pp. 136, 142.

In Australia the principal function of the Medicine Man or Wizard (besides the curing of disease) is to find out who has caused the death of any individual ; for it is supposed that no one can die unless he has been bewitched. The idea of natural death is inconceivable.—*Spencer and Gillen*, pp. 522 *seq.*

emerged into the higher spiritual form which it has assumed among the more cultivated races of mankind.

The best explanation of the ancient Egyptian animal-worship is that it was a survival of totemism and savagery; and it was carried so far that beasts actually figure in the genealogies of the kings as their progenitors.

The religion of the Central Australian natives is totemistic, in many respects peculiar and elaborate; though resembling to a large extent, and in its essential principles, that of the American Indians and other totemistic races. It enters into all their social arrangements, which are remarkably complex and difficult to unravel, and which must be the result of long ancestral tradition. This is especially true of the Arunta tribe.

The religion of the West African tribes, described by Miss Kingsley, is pure "fetish."¹ But all alike have developed a complicated system of "magic," consisting in the use of charms, amulets, incantations, and various ritual observances.²

In saying this I do not imply agreement with Mr. Frazer's theory (*Golden Bough*, vol. i, pp. 77-79), that "religion is the despair of magic," i.e., that men imagined a god or gods to be propitiated with sacrifice and worshipped because magic failed. I look upon it rather as the result of contact with higher phenomena of nature than magic could touch, and as the outcome of the evolution of ideas in the higher races.

Besides, we must not forget that the results of the most recent investigations teach us, as already explained, that even the lowest races have attained so much of religion as is implied by the idea of a "Great Spirit," who is, however, too far removed even for worship, but who permits magic to have a useful effect in controlling the malignancy of the evil powers to whom nature is in bondage.

The late Prof. Robertson Smith, in his *Religion of the Semites*, showed how the Semitic peoples passed through

¹ The Ashantees are totemistic.—Bowditch, *Mission to Ashantee*, 1873, pp. 180, 181.

² Spencer and Gillen, *passim*; Lang, *Magic and Religion*, p. 250 Kingsley, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

the very same stages, and how the idea of the community and interchangeability of life between man and natural objects, or the god supposed to be represented by a natural object, and to dwell therein, one of the earliest of religious ideas, lingered, for example, in the mind of Jacob when he set up the monolith as the abode of the god of Bethel, and anointed it, and called upon Yahwé. And when, later, the religion of Israel had developed into monolatry, before it could yet be called monotheistic, drastic measures were needed to root out the remains of witchcraft from among the people. How difficult this was may be seen in the story of Saul and the Witch of Endor, and in the denunciations of the prophets against the "wizards that peep and that mutter." In an earlier part, also, of the history of Saul we find him "bewitched," and David playing the part of the "medicine-man." (1 Sam. xvi, 23.)

It remains for me to endeavour to prove that what has been said as to modern savage peoples, and as to the development of the religious idea, whether taking the form of totemism or fetishism, through the stage of magic, is true of the prehistoric, *i.e.*, the Neolithic, people of Europe, and of our own islands. In this latter case we take "pre-historic" to mean "pre-Roman" and "non-Celtic," though not here at a very remote period, nor *always* non-Celtic; for, as a matter of fact, in Britain the Neolithic inhabitants seem to have passed on their mode of thought, to a very large extent, to their Celtic—that is to say, to their Goidelic—conquerors and successors. In the course of our argument we shall also prove that certain implements and amulets, weapons and figurines, and rock-drawings, about which there has been much discussion, and which are confidently pronounced to be forgeries in certain learned quarters, are not by any means unusual—were, indeed, to be expected—are in all probability genuine; and that, as genuine, they are most interesting relics of a stage of culture for which a place *can* be very easily and naturally found in the civilisation of our islands; while, should they after all ever be *proved* to be not genuine—and the *onus probandi* lies upon their detractors—the line of argument adopted in this Paper

is not thereby in the smallest degree invalidated : it only possesses one proof the less ; one link in the chain of evidence is removed, but the chain can be made complete without that link.

First of all, let us take the subject of rock-drawings :¹ I give as the *frontispiece* to this Paper illustrations of a series of rock-drawings from Central Australia, compared with those discovered in the year 1895 in the neighbourhood of Dumbaie, on the Clyde.²

The subject of "cup-and-ring" marking on rocks (and on objects of use) is a very old puzzle ; thirty years ago Sir Jas. Simpson (*Ancient Sculpturing of Cups, Circles, &c.*) said : "They are archæological enigmas ;" but whereas others threw out all kinds of wild guesses, he made the luminous suggestion that they were in the first instance "decorative," but added that they were also "emblems or symbols, connected in some way with the religious thoughts and doctrines of those who carved them." Time has proved this idea correct ; and by means of the native Australian the problem may be considered solved.

¹ This subject is completely ignored by Dr. Munro in his Paper in *The Reliquary*, April 1901, notwithstanding that it was distinctly advanced by me in the Paper therein criticised, and further developed in Appendix D. In *Prehistoric Scotland*, however, Dr. Munro discusses the subject of "rock-drawings," under the heading of "Art of the Bronze Age," pp. 216-225, and gives numerous illustrations. On the other hand, in *Lake Dwellings of Europe*, Dr. Munro says, in describing articles of the Neolithic Age : "Among domestic utensils, in addition to pottery, are small cups and boxes made of horn." He gives illustrations of two of these (fig. 185, Nos. 12 and 18), and in each instance they are ornamented with cup-and-ring-marks ! In assigning the "rock-drawings" to the Bronze Age I am convinced he is mistaken, though the "cup-and-ring" symbol *survived* on weapons and other objects down to that Age. For example, they may be seen on many bronze spear-heads (see Geo. Stephens' *Handbook to Runic Monuments*, pp. 204, 205), and are to be found even on Roman altars, as on that at High Rochester, dedicated to Minerva, by Lucius Cæcilius Optatus. Lord Avebury is more correct in assigning these symbols, particularly when drawn on rocks or megalithic monuments, to the Neolithic Age (*Prehistoric Times*, 6th edit., revised, pp. 158, 159), or, as I prefer to say, to include the Australians and other modern races, they are to be assigned to peoples in the Neolithic stage of culture.

² Illustrations of the rock-drawings at Auchintorlie and Cochno (from which these are taken), and sketched on the spot, will be found in Mr. Bruce's *History of Old Kilpatrick*, pp. 320 and 324.

These rock-drawings are found all over the world, but in Australia alone have they a living significance to-day. Here in your own Northumberland you may find them. "On that moor of the Cheviot Hills which is near Chatton Park you may notice," says Mr. Lang, "engraved on the boulders, central cup-like depressions, surrounded by incised concentric circles.¹ In our own country they are found, not only on scalps of rock, but on the stones of "Druid Circles," from Inverness-shire to Lancashire, Cumberland, and the Isle of Man. They also occur on great stones arranged in avenues; on cromlechs; on the stones of chambered *tumuli* in Yorkshire;² on stone 'kists' or coffins in Scotland, Ireland, and in Dorset; on prehistoric obelisks, or solitary 'standing-stones' in Argyle; on walls in underground Picts' houses in the Orkneys and Forfarshire; in prehistoric Scottish forts; near old camps; as well as on isolated rocks, scalps, and stones. Analogous double spirals occur at New Grange, in Ireland, at the entrance of the great gallery leading to the domed chamber; in Scandinavia; in Asia Minor; in China and Zululand, in Australia, India, America, North and South, and in Fiji."³

Among the most notable are those at Gavr Innis, in Brittany, which are undoubtedly the work of a Neolithic people. These are not mentioned in Mr. Lang's exhaustive enumeration, but are similar to, though more elaborate than, those at New Grange. They consist of spirals, serpentine markings, and figures of hammers, axes, and other tools and weapons.

There are rock-drawings in South America which pre-

¹ "At Rowting Liun, Old Bewick, Morwick, and elsewhere, we find those mysterious cups and rings that were first prominently brought into notice by the late Mr. Geo. Tate, and as to the origin and significance of which it were still folly to be wise."—Bate's *History of Northumberland*, p. 6 (1895).

² Some of the finest in our country are to be seen near Ilkley, in Yorkshire—dozens of them.

³ Lang, *Magic and Religion*, 241, 242. The preceding passage is from Mr. Lang's article on "Cup-and-Ring: an Old Problem Solved," in the above book, which has just been published. It originally appeared in the *Contemporary Review*, and was written almost at the same time as my article referred to below. We worked independently the one of the other, and each arrived at the same conclusion. Mr. Lang's book only came into my hands *after* this Paper was written, and I had not previously seen his "Cup-and-Ring" article.

sent precisely the same features, viz., the cup-and-ring-markings, circles, etc., as those from Australia and at Cochno and Auchintorlie; and, indeed, as we have seen, these signs or marks are found in widely different parts of the world, and belong to widely-separated periods.¹ They possessed a tribal or totemistic, if not a magical, significance. The remarkable resemblance between some of the Australian drawings and those from Cochno, even to the representation of a human foot, was pointed out by me in the Appendix to my former Paper,² to which I would refer, and the whole subject was there discussed.

Here, I will only add that the Australian will tell you that the various cups-and-rings and spirals³ represent different totems: the plum-tree, the grasshopper, the witchetty grub, etc.; and that the "foot" represents a footmark left by one of his Alcheringa ancestors in the "long ago."⁴ Is it wrong, then, to argue from analogy that the same marks had the same, or a similar, significance in Scotland, and everywhere else, that they bear in Australia?

Doubtless the people of the Clyde district, even at the time when they thus adorned the rocks upon their hill-

¹ See *The Amazon and Madeira Rivers*, by Franz Keller, 1875, p. 66; and *Prehistoric Phases*, by Hodder M. Westropp, 1872, pp. 176-196, for an early discussion of the subject.

² *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. vi, N. S., p. 184, App. C. These "foot-marks" are also found in Brittany. Two, apparently occurring as a pair, as in Scotland and in Australia, are figured in *Prehistoric Scotland*, Plate IV, fig. 19. These are on a stone in the dolmen of Petit Mont (Arzon), and are about $9\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long.

A footmark, known as the "footprint of Buddha," containing cup-and ring-marks, combined with the Fylfot and Futhorc, is figured and described by Dr. Colley March in an article on the "Fylfot" in the *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, 1886.

³ "In Australia there is good ground for believing that the concentric circle pattern is later than and developed from an original spiral."—Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, p. 633.

"In this country the spiral seems to be later than the circle.—Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

⁴ This depends, however, upon the *locality*. In certain places the drawings have "no meaning," but in others they have the meanings described. "The latter is always on what we may call sacred ground, near to which the women may not come."—Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, p. 617.

sides, were more advanced in many essential respects than the Australian native to-day ; but may not their mental and religious development have been at about the same stage ? At any rate, it is a fact that tribal relationships are reckoned among the Australians on the female¹ not on the male side : *i.e.*, a man belongs to his mother's totem and to her branch of the tribe, not to his father's,² for his father may be quite uncertain. As Mr. McLennan puts it : "Maternity is a matter of fact, paternity a matter of opinion."

The same thing held good among the early Hebrews when they were in the totemistic stage, and indeed is true of every race in that stage.³ This is the meaning of Cæsar's much misunderstood statement about the Britons of his day, in which he has been supposed to describe "polyandry."⁴ Now, it is very curious that the same thing is distinctly recorded of the *Picts*, by Bede and other early historians, though the reason of it is sadly perverted. Bede says : "The Picts had no wives, and asked them of the Scots, who would not consent to grant them on any other terms than that, when any difficulty should arise, they should choose a king from the female royal race rather than from the male ; which custom, as is well known, has been observed among the Picts to this day."⁵

Professor Rhys holds, on the grounds stated in the passage referred to in the previous note, that the Picts represent the Neolithic strain, mingled probably with that of their Goidelic conquerors, among the Scottish

¹ In the Arunta tribe descent follows the male line ; but descent in the female line is the rule with the other tribes, and is most consonant with usual totemistic practice.

² This is the custom known as "*Mutterrecht*."

³ We find it among the North American Indians, and the custom is still extant in China and India. — See A. Lang, *Custom and Myth*, pp. 115, 261 ; McLennan, *Studies in Ancient Society*, pp. 74-82 ; Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, and *Journal of Philology*, No. 17 (vol. ix, 1880) ; Jacobs, *Studies in Biblical Archaeology*, pp. 64 *seq.* ; Spencer and Gillen, *passim*.

⁴ Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, Lib. v, chap. xiv.

⁵ Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Bk. i, chap. i. See Rhys, *The Welsh People*, pp. 36-74, where "the Pictish Question" is thoroughly discussed.

peoples; my suggestion, therefore, is that these rock-drawings are the work of the Picts,¹ and that they were in the totemistic stage of society when they executed them: whether this was still in full vigour, or only existed as a survival, as in Cæsar's day and Bede's, of course is indeterminable.

That no suspicion of forgery can be entertained here, I may add, what I have already pointed out elsewhere, that these Scottish rock-drawings were described and drawn in 1895; and that, further, some of them were known and described ten years ago; their Australian counterparts were not known before 1899.

We come now to another class of objects, such as figurines made of cannel coal; slate and shale spear-heads, ornamented with cup-and-ring markings, and incised lines; oyster-shells, ornamented in the same way; and curious oblong stones, also similarly adorned. These were all found in the now famous Dumbuck pile-dwelling in the near neighbourhood of Dumbuie; and some of the oblong ornamented stones were also found at Dumbuie. These latter are now in the Edinburgh Museum. All of them have been pronounced forgeries, and as "having no place in any known stage of prehistoric Scottish civilisation." This was stated once more at the meeting of the Society of Antiquaries in London, on June 13th, 1901.

Along with these were found a variety of objects, which are admitted to be genuine.

Now, is this the last word on the subject? I think not. As I said before, the *onus probandi* lies upon those who pronounce them forgeries. Let them produce the forger. Meanwhile, let us, for the sake of argument, treat them as genuine. Are they, in that case, as is implied, altogether unique and peculiar? Here again I answer in the negative.

¹ The reason why I insist on this point is, that though we find these rock-drawings in Celtic districts, yet they are characteristic of a pre-Celtic stage of culture. All the world over these rock-drawings are, as stated above, the work of peoples in the Neolithic stage, not in that of Bronze or Iron. Might not the name "Picti" be due to the fact that these people "adorned," not only their own bodies, but the rocks among which they dwelt, and the articles which they used? That they were "artists," in fact.



1. Found by Edward Shippen, digger. Shale image from the Dumbuck Crannog Causeway, found broken in two; a lengthened search had to be made for one of the portions.



2. Found in the Crannog "well" by John Shannon, of Perthshire.



3. The oyster-shell from Dumbaie Hill Fort, excavated from crevice in the living rock, over which tons of *debris* had rested. When taken out, the incrustations of dirt prevented any carving from being seen; it was only after being dried and cleaned that the "face" appeared, as well as the suspension holes on each side.



4. Found by Rev. George Lamb, of Old Kilpatrick. The smallest of all the shale images: found broken.

The above give a faithful record of these very quaint "images," found in the Crannog and at Dumbaie Hill Fort, and are drawn by Mr. W. A. Donnelly.

Fig. 2. Figurines from Dumbuck, and Incised Oyster-Shell from Dumbaie.

First let us take the figurines. These have been exhibited in many places ; here I show some absolutely correct drawings of them—because much childish ridicule has been poured upon certain other drawings which appeared in the *Journal* of this Association, and which were certainly rough, but sufficiently accurate. To these I would also refer.¹

Now, as is well known, the Australian native was not advanced enough to make even any such rude figures—but similar ones, large and small, are to be found on every hand, among savage peoples of to-day, in a slightly more advanced condition. References are superfluous, but they can be given in abundance ; indeed, it has been suggested that these particular figurines were intended for the West African market, and were dropped here instead.

In that case, however, the ingenuity of the forger, not only in making the things, but in placing them in the position where they would be most likely to be met with, if genuine, is one of the most remarkable circumstances about the matter.

But are these figurines unique as products of prehistoric times in Europe ? I show here some drawings, out of many, of precisely similar figures, two of which are undoubted relics of the Neolithic Age among the Finns ;² the other three are later, but of similar type ; these are the more interesting from the affinity which I have shown to exist between the Finns and the Neolithic population of these islands. This is what is said on the subject by the Hon. John Abercromby, in his book on *The Pre- and Proto-Historic Finns*, to which I would refer every student of folk-lore, anthropology, and prehistoric archæo-

¹ "Enough to make a cat laugh," is the elegant phrase used in *The Reliquary*, April 1901, p. 144. I also exhibited, when this Paper was read, Mr. Donnelly's original sketches (cf. *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, vol. iv, New Ser., pp. 366-370 ; and see *History of Old Kilpatrick*, pp. 318 *seq.* ; *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, March 9th and April 13th, 1896, and *Report* of the Helensburgh Antiquarian Society for 1896).

² The ancient Finns were spread all over Central and Northern Russia, as well as in the country now known as Finland.



1.—Muzzle of a Dog or Bear, from Ladoga.



2.—Human Silhouette in Flint, from Volósovo.



3.—Two Human Figures in Bronze.



4.—Head and Shoulders of a Bear.



5.—Circular Bronze Disc, with Incised Ornaments.

Fig. 3.—Figurines and Amulets belonging to the Finns of the Neolithic and Bronze Ages. From *Pre- and Proto-Historic Finns*, by the Hon. Jn. Abercromby. Lent by Mr. David Nutt and Co.

logy. He is describing the Neolithic Age in Finland, as it is exhibited by the "finds" discovered in burial-places belonging to that age; and, after speaking of the weapons—chiefly flint arrow-heads of beautiful finish, and implements, axes, hammers, saws, etc., and very rude pottery—he goes on to mention various figurines of men and animals, which are similar to those found in Scotland at Dumbuck and Dumbaie, as follows: "Some of the carved work on the shore of Lake Ladoga is specially deserving of notice, as it may be supposed to possess a distinct ethnological value. One piece represents what is supposed to be the silhouette of a seal carved in bone, with short strokes on the surface to represent the fur. The *eye* is formed by a hole of suspension, and the plaque may have been worn as an amulet to bring luck to the wearer." Another represents a dog, and another was recognised by Dr. Tischler as "the figure of a man, without a shadow of doubt." "He considered these Ladogan carvings as belonging to the same category as the sculptured figures in bone and amber from East Russia and Galicia, and regarded them as the beginning of plastic art in the north and east of Europe. The main likeness consists in this: that the human figures in both regions have a hole of suspension under each *armpit*."¹ At Kolomtsi "one piece of bone was carved into the head of a bird; another represented the head of a man, with a pointed chin, a very long nose, and a head-dress in shape like a fez." He then continues: "Of particular interest are silhouettes of men, birds, and animals, chipped out of a piece of flint. The practice of chipping flattish pieces of flint into something approaching an animal shape is not confined to one locality. It is found in the Valley of the Oka, far to the north, near the White Sea, etc., in the province of Kazan, which shows a fairly wide distribution." He proceeds: "As it is difficult to believe that Neolithic man, in a low state of civilisation, when it is not certain that even the dog was domesticated, should take the trouble to hew out of flint and bone

¹ The *italics* are mine. In the Dumbuck examples the hole for suspension is formed by the *mouth*.

representations of men and animals merely to satisfy his artistic and creative instincts and faculties: some other reason must be sought for. It is more consonant with the extreme laziness of uncivilised man to suppose that he had a practical object in view; that the human and animal figures served as household gods, or as personal amulets to secure luck when fishing or hunting."¹

Secondly, as regards the slate and shale spear-heads, and oyster-shells ornamented with cup-and-ring markings, and diverging lines, less need be said. The spear-heads were never, probably, intended for war or hunting; but, taking into consideration the ornamentation, which is the same as that on the other objects and on the rocks, and bearing in mind what has been said as to these latter, they all fall into line as having had a magical or (if we choose to say so) a religious significance, and were objects used in the ritual of worship.² I think this is more likely than that these had a tribal or totemistic meaning, though the variety of ornamentation may imply that different objects belonged to the magic rites of different tribes or totem clans. As regards the material, it was close at hand and useful for the purpose; and I find slate or shale employed in Finland, as well as in Norway, in Ireland, and elsewhere.³

¹ *Pre- and Proto-Historic Finns*, by Hon. J. Abercromby; vol. i, pp. 63, 65, 71, 72. This exactly bears out the suggestion I made in my previous Paper, already referred to, and which I would reiterate here. A large number of similar figurines or "idols" are described and illustrated in M. Hoernes' *Urgeschichte der Bildenden Kunst in Europa*, to which I would here refer. They belong to the Neolithic Age, and are from all parts of Europe.

² The spear-heads, with their ornamentation of "cup-and-ring" lines, etc., may indeed have been themselves also of the nature of "Churinga." See below.

³ Evidence as to the use of slate in Neolithic times is accumulating on all hands. For example, (1) the following letter which I received from Mr. Mallett, the discoverer of the Neolithic cemetery in Cornwall, described in the present volume of the *Journal*, pp. 90-92, and which I have his permission to reproduce here, speaks for itself.

The slate implements found at Padstow belong to the Neolithic Age; and, while the majority may have been, and probably were, intended

Curiously enough, the discovery of the drawing of a boat with three rowers, surmounted with two crescents,

for actual use, one, at any rate, is similar to those found at Dumbuck, in being ornamented with incised lines.

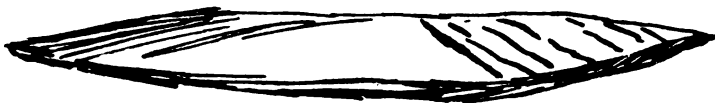
"Harlyn Bay, near Padstow, N. Cornwall,

"July 25th, 1901.

"DEAR SIR,—Mrs. H. Pears (of Malvern Link) has asked me to write to you respecting my growing collection of slate implements, found on the site of the prehistoric settlement from which this letter is indited.

"I have already classified more than two hundred 'worked' pieces of slate, comprising fighting weapons (hand-to-hand slate daggers): knives, prickers (double-pointed), spear-heads, arrow-heads, axes, scrapers and needles, all found at the level at which the ancient workmen lived.

"In your Newcastle lecture you referred to *incised* implements. One found here (a slate double-pointed pricker, of about 6 in. in length) has seven distinct parallel lines marked at one of the points, thus—



Some scientists, though the minority, still maintain that these pieces of slate have been fashioned by the action of the wind and sand, but my excavations go to prove that—

"(1) The remains have not been weather-worn, for countless pieces of rubble, found side by side with the implements, display no traces of 'weather'.

"(2) 'Weather' tends to blunt edges and round points, whereas the implements have keen edges and sharp points, capable, to-day, of pricking and cutting with as much ease as when used thousands of years ago.

"(3) The relics are found at a depth of from 6 ft., 12 ft., to 16 ft. below the surface of to-day, between two distinct sand strata.

"(4) Slate is indigenous, flint is not; though flints are found in and about the cists, *worked*, in most cases.

"I am, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

"REDDIE MALLETT.

"P.S.—A visitor recently told me that he possessed a *slate* axe, identical in shape with one of mine, brought from New Zealand, and made by a Maori—an argument for the theory of *universality of ideas*." See also *Harlyn Bay, and the Discovery of its Prehistoric Remains*, by R. Aslington Bullen, F.G.S.

(2) The following letter is also of interest. Observe the important statements with regard to Slate Implements.

"Henbury, Bristol,

"June 5th, 1901.

"DEAR SIR,— . . . For many years I have been collecting the Stone Implements which are turned up by the plough. I used formerly to despise the pieces of slate I often noticed on the surface of the land. I thought they were modern, and brought probably with manure in the course of dressing the land. But one day, a few years ago, I thought such an explanation of their origin as not reasonable or probable, so determined on the next occasion to examine the fragments of slate I came across in my researches, and at once discovered that these fragments were implements, many displaying notches for hafting. Briefly, flint and slate were the two materials in most common use in Neolithic times, slate the most common.

"I remain, yours faithfully,

"SPENCER GEO. PERCEVAL."

(3) A considerable number of slate implements have been recently

and a cup-and-ring-marking on a perforated pebble, figured in Mr. Bruce's Paper on Dumbaie, is very similar to some of those on the rock-carvings figured by Dr. Montelius from the Bronze Age in Sweden. I will return to this presently.

It only remains for us to notice the "oblong stones," which are also, all of them, ornamented in a similar fashion to the objects already mentioned.¹



Fig. 4.—Illustration of *Churinga* from Dumbaie.

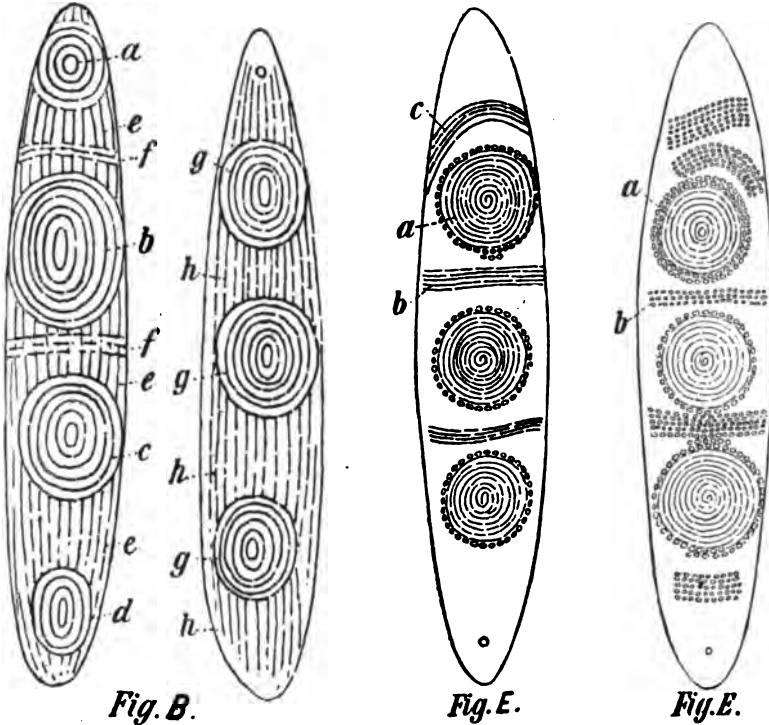
Here we go again to Australia, and we find precisely similar objects, having a definite place in the religious system of the natives, and used in the same locality where the rock-drawings are found. The moment I had an opportunity of studying Messrs. Spencer and Gillen's book, and of comparing these objects with the "*Churinga*" figured and described in that book, the idea occurred to

found by Mr. Jas. Neilson, of Glásgow, at Irvine, in Ayrshire; and

(4) Some very fine and unmistakeable slate implements have been quite lately discovered by Mr. A. Selley, of Bristol, in a Neolithic settlement near Trevoze Head, North Cornwall.

¹ I give an illustration of one from Dumbaie here; others are figured in my previous Paper, *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, vol. vi, N. S., pp. 164-188, figs. 18, 20.

me that here was the solution of the whole difficulty; that in those Australian amulets with their living, present-day meaning might be found the explanation of these hitherto unknown and apparently inexplicable objects found at Dumbaie and Dumbuck; and that it would be more scientific to accept this explanation, than



Churinga of the Arunta Tribe, Central Australia.

Fig. B.—*Churinga Nangi* of the Honey-Ant Totem.

Fig. E.—*Churinga Nangi* of the Plum-Tree Totem.

For full description, see Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, pp. 147, 149.

airily to dismiss the subject by saying, "No place can be found for them in prehistoric Scotland."

Accordingly, the whole subject was fully discussed and explained in the Appendix to my Paper, read at Buxton in 1899, and published in 1900. To that Paper I would, therefore, again refer, and only add here that I am more than ever convinced that the arguments adduced by me

then, and by Mr. Lang at about the same time, and each independently of the other, are incontrovertible.¹

A curious custom, illustrating the use of stone implements for magical purposes, is referred to by Mr. Cato

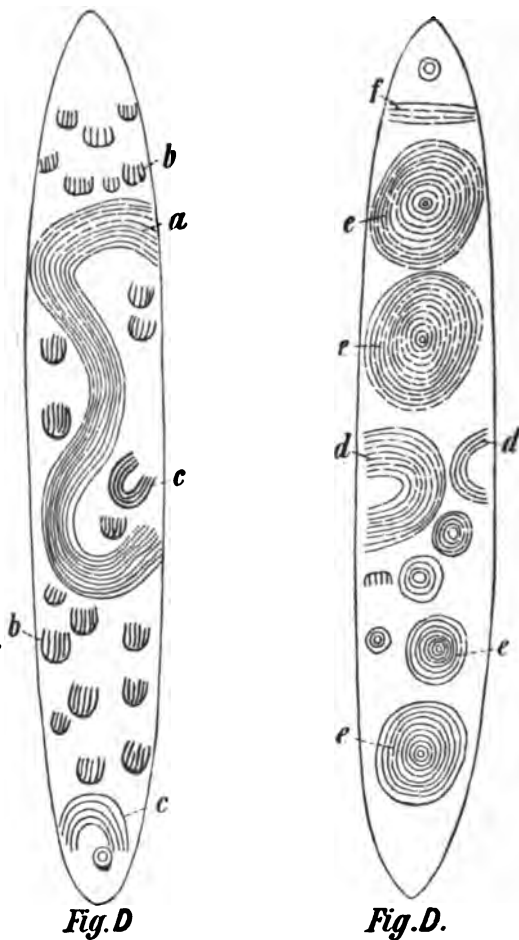


Fig. D.—*Churinga Nangi* of the Witchetty Grub Totem.

Worsfold, in his book on *The French Stonehenge*, recently published. This consists in the fact that in the Morbihan

¹ *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, vol. vi, N. S., pp. 182-184.

district of France stone axes are often found in the chimneys of dwellings unearthed. This was done to preserve them from being struck by lightning, and the Breton name for them is *Men Gurun*, or "Thunder Stones." "In connection with this custom," says Mr. Worsfold, "the learned Dr. G. le Closmadeuc, in a communication to the Société Polymatique du Morbihan, in 1873, writes thus:—'Dans la religion des Armoricaïns primitifs' (i.e., pre-Celtic) 'qui ont construit nos dolmens du Morbihan le Celtoe en pierre ou mengurun etait purement et simplement un objet sacré, qu'on déposait dans le tombeau à coté du mort. Simulacre ou sorte d'idole à laquelle on rendait un culte, et qui se presente à nous avec sa signification eminemment religieuse de divinité tutelaire'."

It will be observed that in this Paper I have avoided controversy, and have rather preferred to bring forward positive evidence that the magical and religious ideas of our prehistoric and non-Celtic ancestors in these islands, as witnessed by the "finds" at Dumbuck, Dumbaie, and elsewhere, fall into line with those of the Neolithic people of Europe, and may be explained by a comparison with the ideas of modern savage races in Australia, America, West Africa, and other parts of the world. This being so, it goes to prove that, apart from positive evidence to the contrary, the "finds" are genuine, and that a place can be found for them in a definite period of Scottish prehistoric civilisation; this place, as I stated in my previous Paper, already referred to, is at a time when the inhabitants of the Clyde district were still in the Neolithic stage of culture, and were still ornamenting the rocks in the neighbourhood with signs distinctive of totem-relationship, and were also still employing objects significative of definite magical and religious ideas, as charms and amulets, and for the purposes of incantation and ritual; though, to judge from the pile-structures in which they were found, from the canoe, and from the holed pebble adorned with the representation of a boat, they had already received a tincture of Bronze Age culture. This may, very probably, have been at a rela-

tively late period, and one not far removed from the time of the Roman dominion.¹

This, again, would also explain the finding of a quern among the relics, along with other grinding rollers and pebbles of undoubted Neolithic workmanship.

My reply to the statements made, and the arguments adduced, in a recent Paper in *The Reliquary*, April, 1901, is to be found in the Appendix to this Paper.

I would only say here that my opponent, while concentrating all his energy and all his undoubted ability upon the arguments which concern himself personally, carefully avoids all reference to the positive arguments as to the rock-drawings, the *Churinga*, etc., which I brought forward more particularly in the Appendix to my former Paper, and which I have endeavoured more carefully to enlarge upon and develop in the present one.

One further remark only would I make, and I would

¹ In a letter to Mr. Bruce, of April 29th, 1901, Mr. A. M. Bell, F.G.S., Oxford, after a painstaking investigation and discussion of the "finds" at Dumbuck and Dumbaie, arrives at the following conclusions :—

- (1) The relics are genuine.
- (2) They are peculiar.
- (3) They are Neolithic; i.e., they contain genuine implements of stone and horn, two of which resemble definite patterns of universal use.
- (4) They separate themselves from the ordinary Neolithic relics.
- (5) Being probably later.
- (6) Imitations of the human figure suggest Scandinavian rock-sculpture, and probably a late age.
- (7) Other representations suggest Roman influence, and are not unlike in artistic weakness to the imitations of Greek and Roman coins by the Celts of Southern Britain. In the "holed pebble" (see p. 246), particularly, Mr. Bell sees traces of the Roman influence. He says: "The rowers are not unlike the galley in a coin of Allectus, and the Open Hand is a common device of the coinage of Rome. The moon or star might be suggested by the *Julium Sidus*."

These conclusions are most interesting, for they are those of an independent student, and agree in the main with my own. The chief difference is that Mr. Bell sees traces of Roman influence which escaped me, and would therefore assign them to a period after the natives had come into contact with the Romans.

He may, very probably, be correct; but in the main contention he is at one with me: that these relics are the work of a people still in the Neolithic stage of culture, who had received a tincture of Bronze Age (and Roman) civilisation.

ask him to believe that it is not meant unkindly, viz., this. He would appear to have practically staked his scientific reputation upon the fact that these "finds" are not genuine: without, however, bringing forward one shred of evidence to prove them "forgeries."

Whereas it would not make one particle of difference to the position maintained by myself and others if they were *proved* "forgeries" to-morrow: as I said above, one link only in the chain of evidence would be removed, but the chain itself would be as strong as ever. Meanwhile, and until the proof of forgery is forthcoming, I still contend that the position maintained in this Paper "holds the field."¹

APPENDIX.

My reply to Dr. Munro's criticism in *The Reliquary* for April, 1901, of the arguments contained in my Paper in the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association for June, 1900, pp. 164-188, shall be brief; and, in replying, I will keep to the order of the arguments as they appear in the Paper.

(1) Dr. Munro says that he never used the word "forgeries." This is no doubt true; but, in speaking as he did in the *Glasgow Herald* and elsewhere of other articles as "the genuine finds," and in *Prehistoric Scotland* of some of the finds as genuine, he implied that the others were not genuine, and, if not genuine, they must be forgeries. There is no escape from this dilemma. When I used the words, "that all the finds are forgeries," I was alluding only to those under consideration, viz., the figurines or amulets of Cannel

¹ On the whole subject covered by this Paper the student may consult with advantage the monumental work of Dr. M. Hoernes, entitled, *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa von den Anfängen bis um 500 vor Christ*: Zweites Buch:—*Die Kunst im Zeitalter der jüngeren Wirthschaftsstufen: Animismus, Mutterrecht und Muttercult, Totemismus, Idolatrie*, pp. 79-117; Drittes Buch:—*Die Plastik der jüngeren Steinzeit und der Bronzezeit: Der Norden und der Osten*, pp. 249-257; and Viertes Buch:—*Die Zeichnung der jüngeren Steinzeit und der Bronzezeit: Felsenzeichnungen* (c), pp. 374-382. The book only came into my hands after this Paper was written, and it is impossible, within its limits, to quote even extracts; but these passages will be found to bear out the views herein independently expressed in regard to the development of the religious idea, and the art of the Neolithic Age. The whole book is a remarkable example of the thoroughness of German scholarship.

coal, the inscribed stones and shells, and the slate weapons, all of which Dr. Munro includes among those for which "no place can be found in any known phase of Scottish civilisation." Dr. Munro's words are: "Among the genuine relics found at Dumbuck may be mentioned portions of deer-horn sawn across, a quern, some pointed implements of bone, like those found in the Lochlee Crannog, and illustrated by fig. 79 in "Ancient Scottish Lake-Dwellings," and a few polishers of stone: all of which unmistakably indicate the mediæval character of this curious structure. The shale and slate images and weapons, the perforated stone pendants, oyster-shells, and other objects, ornamented with cup-marks, concentric circles, etc., would be as much out of place as surviving remnants of the prehistoric civilisation of Scotland in Romano-British times as they are now."—*Prehistoric Scotland*, p. 441. In writing thus, Dr. Munro virtually claims to know all that can be known about the prehistoric civilisation of Scotland! But things are not of necessity "not genuine" because he has been hitherto unaware of them; or does he claim to have fathomed the ultimate depths of knowledge, or spanned its furthest heights?

Dr. Munro now says: "I never used the word *forgery* as applicable to any of the relics from the Dumbuck Crannog, but I have characterised some of the objects as not genuine relics of the people who inhabited it. Mr. Astley and others hold that, if not genuine, they must be forgeries. Well, so be it." As to the words "all" and "some," I have replied above.

Further on, Dr. Munro says: "As an objector to the validity of my argument, the *onus probandi* that the quern was known in the Stone Age falls on my opponent." This I reply to below; here I would say, once for all, what I have insisted on throughout the preceding Paper, viz., "As an objector to the validity of the curious and hitherto unknown objects found at Dumbuck, the *onus probandi* that 'they are not genuine relics of the peoples who inhabited it,' falls on my opponent." I would also remind him that the discoveries of Palæolithic weapons even, as a class, were at first similarly scouted by those who were prejudiced by "pre-Baconian" rubrics.

If these things are not genuine finds, i.e., are forgeries, it is surely incumbent upon him to prove it. It is not incumbent upon those who hold that Mr. Donnelly, Mr. Bruce, F.S.A.Scot.,¹ etc., are reporting what they have found, to prove that these things are *not* forgeries. Surely, then, the more scientific plan is to take the finds as genuine until they have been conclusively proved to be the contrary, and to endeavour to fit them into their place in the life-history of man in Scotland. This is what is attempted in the Paper

¹ Mr. Bruce, in a letter to the author, of August 29th, 1901, says: "I cannot conceive what has caused Dr. Munro to take up the attitude he has. Everything we have found is genuine."

under discussion and in the present one, and even should these particular "finds" be subsequently PROVED to be forgeries, the arguments as to the general similarity of the stage of culture of man in the Neolithic Age in Europe, and the modern Australian and other savage races will still hold good, from the finds made in other localities, and from the universality of the cup and-ring markings on the rocks.

(2) Dr. Munro holds that the finding of a so-called quern at Dumbuck of necessity rules it out of the Neolithic period. As a matter of fact, the other grain-crushers found there are of the mortar and roller-pestle shape, familiarised to us by discoveries in Egypt and elsewhere, and characteristic of the Neolithic stage of culture. Only one article that could be called a "quern" was found, and I have suggested that that *may* have come there in later times. But, we may ask, why should this "quern" be accounted a 'genuine' "find" by Dr. Munro, when so many other things are held by him to be "not genuine"? The reason is not far to seek.

(3) We now come to the crucial point over which Dr. Munro spends the largest amount of space, and becomes forgetful of those amenities which surely ought to mark scientific discussion.

When the subject first came before the public, Dr. Munro's Paper in the *Archæological Journal*, Dec. 1898, on the rise of the land on the western and south-western coasts of Scotland (corresponding to a depression in the coasts of England at about the same period) had been recently published. In this he very strongly propounded his theory of the "25-ft. raised beach," and pointed to the present level of the MacArthur Cave at Oban, and to other localities, in proof that when man dwelt there in Neolithic days the sea flowed in, whereas now they are 25 ft. or more above the sea-level.¹ Having read that article, it occurred to me that herein lay the *secret* of the Doctor's opposition to the Neolithic theory of Dumbuck; and hence my remarks when Mr. Donnelly read his Paper before this Association, and my subsequent letter to the *Athenæum* referred to by Dr. Munro; and while we are on this point, may I add that I challenge anyone to read that article, and my induction from it, with an open mind, and say that the letter is unreasonable, much less a deliberate misrepresentation.

Dr. Munro's theory may not be so wide-reaching, nor cover so much ground as I gave it credit for; but that there was any "wilful" or "deliberate misrepresentation" I absolutely deny. When I came to write my Paper I realised that the *crux* of the matter lay in the words "subsequent to the appearance of man but prior to the Roman occupation;" and I rejoined that even on the truth of this 25-ft. raised beach theory, which I see no reason to doubt, Dumbuck might still be a Neolithic structure of a time not long prior to the Roman occupation. In my reply to Dr. Munro's

¹ See Note at end of Appendix.

letter to me of November 4th, 1900, I based my argument on his statements in *Prehistoric Scotland*, to show that they were substantially the same with those in his Paper in the *Archæological Journal*; but the book was published, as I state in the Appendix to my Paper, after that Paper was written, and has nothing whatever really to do with anything said therein. However, Dr. Munro now says that the "25-ft. raised beach" had nothing to do with his opposition to Dumbuck. Be it so; and I unreservedly accept his statement, and admit that I unintentionally misrepresented his views and the grounds of his opposition; but in that case he either admits that the theory does not extend to the basin of the Clyde, or else admits that the change of level took place at such a time subsequent to the appearance of man, but prior to the Roman occupation, as not to preclude the possibility of a Neolithic structure at the present level of the Clyde basin. This being the case, the Doctor's remarks in *Prehistoric Scotland* as to the probable position of a Neolithic structure in the Clyde are not to the point, as they premise more change than has taken place in the course of the last eighteen or nineteen centuries. As I have said before, it is not the date, but the stage of culture exemplified by Dumbuck, that is the important thing; and, in bearing this in mind, it must be remembered that not one particle of metal, nor one shred of pottery, even of the rudest kind, has been found there; and this must be taken in connection with the fact that the rock-markings in the neighbourhood, as well as those "finds" for which the Doctor can "find no place," have an unmistakeable similarity to the undoubted products, elsewhere, of the Neolithic stage of culture.

(4) Dr. Munro now declares that he does not deny the existence of crannogs and pile-dwellings of Neolithic construction in the British Isles "as a general proposition," notwithstanding the fact that both in *Lake-Dwellings* and elsewhere, as stated in my Paper, he maintains that they are an importation from the Continent by the Celtic races. Dr. Munro's words are:—"Taking all these circumstances into consideration (viz., those he has been considering), I repeat that, while we are justified in ascribing the remains of lake-dwellings [and in these he includes, by implication, marine and river structures], so far as they are at present known within the British Isles, to a Celtic source, I see no *prima facie* improbability against the hypothesis that the Celts derived their knowledge of this custom from the great system of Central Europe."—*Lake-Dwellings of Europe*, p. 494.

And, again:—"All these remains [viz., those he has been describing] are compatible with the opinion that they must be assigned to the early Iron Age, rather than to an earlier date. The absence of metals counts for very little."—*Prehistoric Scotland*, p. 424. And again, in *The Reliquary* article, p. 110, Dr. Munro asserts—and indeed the idea is carried out all through—"I do not

know of any crannog in Scotland that can be assigned to pre-Roman times."

But in *The Antiquary*, vol. vii, p. 67, his book entitled *Ancient Scottish Lake-dwellings*, 1882, is reviewed, and he is *quoted or referred to* as saying that at Lochlee, "'hammer stones, heating stones, sling stones, stone anvil, whet stones, polished celts, *querns*, some *flint* implements, and spindle whorls, also bone and wood implements, a canoe, bronze and iron articles, were found all together. The evidence of the *Stone Age Man*, the *Bronze Age Man*, and the *Iron Age Man*, rests alongside of each other.' To the question, therefore," continues the reviewer, "as to the period of history to which these Scottish Lake Dwellings belong, Dr. Munro can only return a tentative answer. *He ascribes them to the early Celts, before the inroads of the Romans and English.* This appears to us to be a thoroughly legitimate conclusion to be derived from the evidence."

If this was not a fair inference, why did not Dr. Munro correct it at the time?

And how can he deny that some crannogs are pre-Roman, if he is correctly reviewed in ascribing Lochlee to "the early Celts before the inroads of the Romans"?

We will leave the Doctor to reconcile these conflicting statements as best he can.

Even supposing, however, that these statements were absolutely incontrovertible, instead of being mutually destructive, they neither of them preclude the possibility of the Dumbuck crannog being the work of a non-Celtic race, *i.e.*, probably of the Aborigines of Scotland, the Picts, ignorant of the use of metals, and with aboriginal superstitions still prevalent among them, at the date which I have suggested for it. They may have learnt how to build a crannog from their Goidelic neighbours. Moreover, the Doctor admits that such structures are to be found, belonging to the Neolithic period, though he endeavours to impugn the force of the evidence adduced by me, without seeing that this admission negatives both his previous propositions! Ballinderry he tries to rule out, but I cannot see why it may not have been continuously or intermittently occupied, like Lochlee, from the Late Stone down to the Iron Age.

I am quite willing to allow that he is right in his correction of my statement as to Gen. Pitt-Rivers' position in respect to the bone skates found in the Thames, in the neighbourhood of wooden piles. But, it being granted that pile-dwellings of the Neolithic Age are to be found in Britain, this correction does not prove that the Dumbuck structure cannot be of that age. To the evidence contained in my previous Paper (Appendix D), we may add the undoubted pile-dwellings in Wretham mere, near Thetford, Norfolk—not far from Brandon, in whose "Grimes' Graves" Canon

Greenwell found the abandoned tool of the Neolithic flint-worker *in situ*, and these pile-dwellings belong without reasonable doubt to the same age. Others might be mentioned, but enough has been said.¹

(5) Finally, Dr. Munro affirms, on the evidence of his own eyes and that of an eminent architect, that the Piles of Dumbuck have been undoubtedly fashioned with iron tools. On the other hand, it has been proved, as mentioned in my Paper, that every mark of cutting could have been made with equal nicety and finish by a stone tool. This being so, it is for the Doctor and his friends to *prove* that iron tools were employed, if they can: it being still borne in mind that no scrap of metal, bronze or iron, has been found in the locality.

Dr. Munro and his friends would, without doubt, have pronounced an equally emphatic opinion—so universally accepted—that the tool-markings and the cutting of the mortice and tenon-joints at Stonehenge were “the result of sharp *metal* tools.” But now, as I write, even these colossal works in hard stone are proved to have been fashioned by the despised Neolithic axe. How simple, after this, was the sharpening of the Dumbuck piles; and yet it is on the theory of the impossibility of any such thing that Dr. Munro throws down his sheepskin and challenges “the final *coup* to the Neolithic theory of Dumbuck.” I accept the challenge—so may it be. Let the evidence now forthcoming of the higher stage of Neolithic culture, as disclosed at the great monument, be the “*coup*” to my contention of the origin of the ornaments and work at Dumbuck, or to the pre-Baconian theories of all those who would deprive the Neolithic race of even the very rudiments of ornament, art, or hewn architecture.

There remain one or two minor points which may be briefly referred to.

On p. 109 Dr. Munro denies that his opinion was “a hasty judgment”; but, on p. 110, incidentally mentions that he visited the crannog on October 12th, 1898, and communicated his opinion “openly expressed in writing,” *on the following day!*

Page 112. Dr. Munro objects to my “generalisation” as to the *flora* contemporary with Palæolithic Man. Mr. A. M. Bell, F.G.S., Oxford, however, says in the letter of April 29th, 1901, referred to above: “It may interest you to know that I am now engaged in sifting some evidence of the *Flora* and *Coleopterous Fauna* contem-

¹ By a curious coincidence, the very same number of *The Reliquary*, April 1901, which contains Dr. Munro's Paper, also contains the account of the discovery by the Rev. J. W. Kenworthy, Vicar of Braintree, Essex, in the brick-earth of the district, of lacustrine remains, “which in their way are quite as important as the recent discovery of similar remains near Glastonbury.” Mr. Kenworthy divides the brick-earth into five layers, of which No. 2 is labelled “Neolithic” (!). In this layer wooden piles were found, which point to the probability of the settlement having been a lake-habitation in that age.—*The Reliquary*, April 1901, pp. 121-123.

porary with Palæolithic Man in this Thames Valley. One of the trees was a *pine*, probably the *Scotch fir* of our own Highlands."

Page 113. Dr. Munro asserts that the "ornaments of jet, amber, and bone" mentioned by me, "can be definitely assigned to the ages of Bronze and Iron." This cannot be the case. The only ornaments of jet found by Bateman (*Ten Years' Diggings*) comprised specimens from about fifteen different interments, and all, with one exception (bronze), were in connection with flint relics alone. In one case, two sandstones, *with cavities worked in them*, were found. Jet-rings, too, were found of the Neolithic period.

Bateman also shows jet beads and bone "draughts," clearly Neolithic, adorned with cup-and-ring-marks, from Derbyshire.¹

In conclusion, if the Dumbuck crannog and the relics from Dumbuie do not belong to the Stone Age, they must belong to the Age of Bronze or Iron. Accordingly, I challenge Dr. Munro to find something of bronze and iron there, and then controvert the stone and other relics which have been found.

Can we imagine that a crannog, or pile-structure of the Iron Age, or, to use Dr. Munro's phrase, "mediæval," would only contain stone relics? The later the relics, usually, the more abundant they are, because they were probably there when the place was flooded or deserted. Again, why is there no vestige of pottery, not even of the rude kind of which the Stone Age was capable, to say nothing of later (or mediæval) examples?

Here I will take leave of Dr. Munro. I regret that he should have thought it necessary to import personalities into the discussion, and if I unwittingly misrepresented him, or his views, on any point, I equally regret that.

As matters stand, and until conclusive proof of forgery has been discovered, or until the use of metal tools has been proved to demonstration, it seems to me that those have the most regard for the teachings of inductive science, and the most logic on their side, who take the facts as they find them, and try to fit them into their true place in some, it may be, hitherto unknown, but none the less real, "phase of prehistoric Scottish civilisation."

For myself I have no *parti pris*, no theory whatever. All I have endeavoured to do is to marshal the facts and let them tell their own tale.

NOTE to p. 253.—Mr. James Neilson, of Glasgow, however, writes thus as regards the MacArthur Cave: "*Re* the Oban bone-cave. It is ridiculous to say men dwelt in there when the sea flowed in. How could they? It must have been dry, i.e., at its present level. I saw the 'finds' out of the Oban cave. The antiquaries wrote of a 'shell-bed': now this term is only rightly used for a naturally deposited bed, while this was a rubbish heap, a sort of kitchen midden. The shells, too, were of recent type."

¹ Cf. p. 236, note 1, lines 8-11.



Antiquarian Intelligence.

Account of Roman Remains found at Walmer, Kent.—These Remains were no doubt *in situ*, and date back to some time in the third cen-

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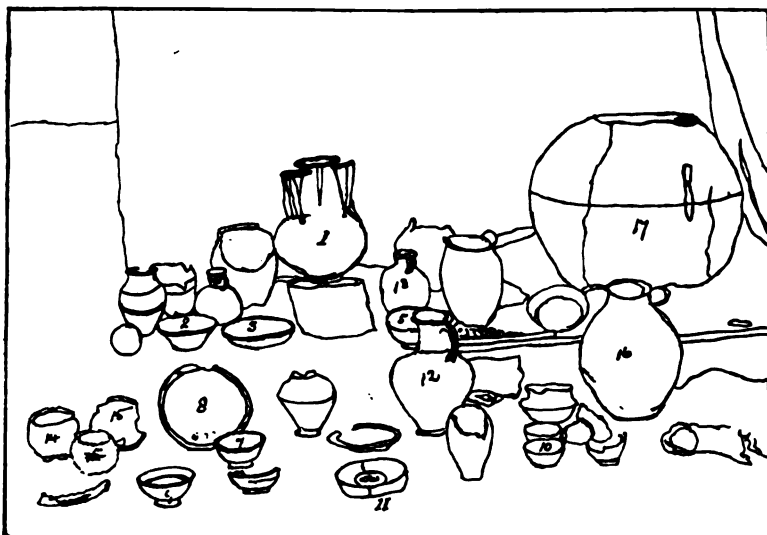
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Glass Vessel found inside *Amphora*, and containing Fragments of Bone.

ture. It is curious they should have escaped being unearthed till the present time, being only some 18 ins. or 2 ft. below the surface. The



ROMAN RELICS UNEARTHED AT WALMER LODGE.

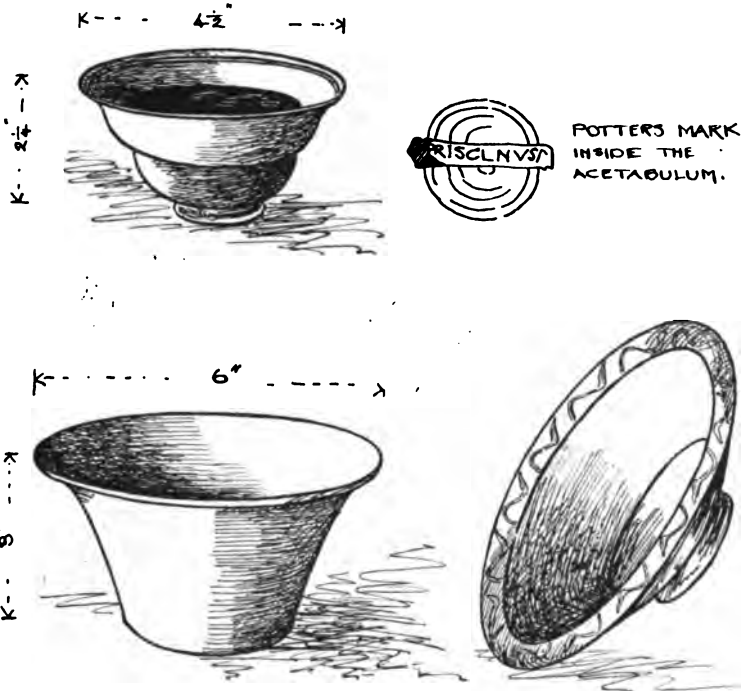


Reference.

1. Glass bottle 12 in. high.
 - 2 to 11. Samian Ware, all quite plain, some with maker's name.
 - 12 to 17. Red Pottery, no doubt made from the local clay; 17, they say, contained the glass bottle filled with calcined bones, and some of the Samian ware.
- The remainder is dark gray or black pottery from the Medway district.

ground has been cultivated, but no trenching has taken place; now the landscape gardener comes in, and for his trees and borders thoroughly trenches his ground: hence the occasion of this find.

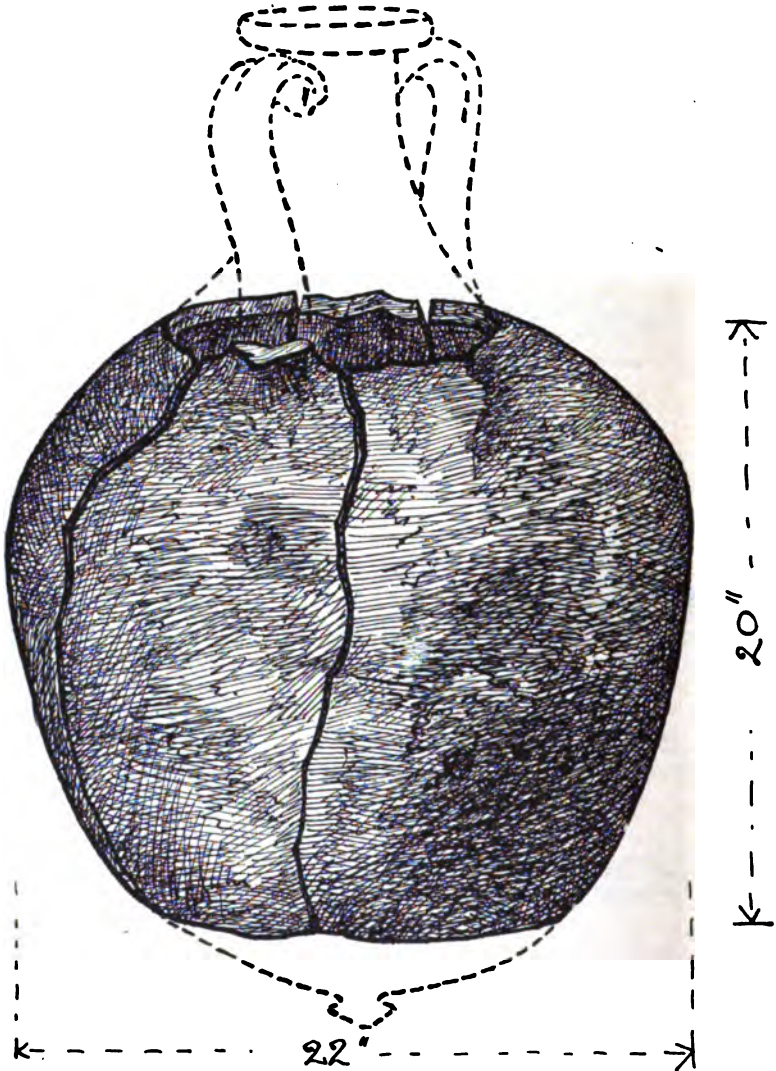
After the first piece of pottery was found, Mr. Walker carefully turned back the soil himself, and consequently no piece of this valuable find was in any way damaged. The site of these two separate finds was in the grounds of Walmer Lodge, some 18 ft.



SAMIAN WARE RED GLAZED

above high-water-mark, and about 600 ft. inland. Excepting the grounds belonging to this property (about four acres), the land towards Walmer Castle is low and marshy, and protected from the sea by a high bank of shingle. From this the land rises gradually to 100 ft. on a subsoil of chalk to Upper Walmer. On the slope towards the sea, coins and isolated pieces of pottery have been found, and would lead one to imagine a Roman Station on the hill. It commands a view of the estuary there leading to Richborough Castle, which in a straight line would be some six miles away.

One peculiar feature of this find is the quantity of utensils discovered, mostly in good condition and principally of Samian ware



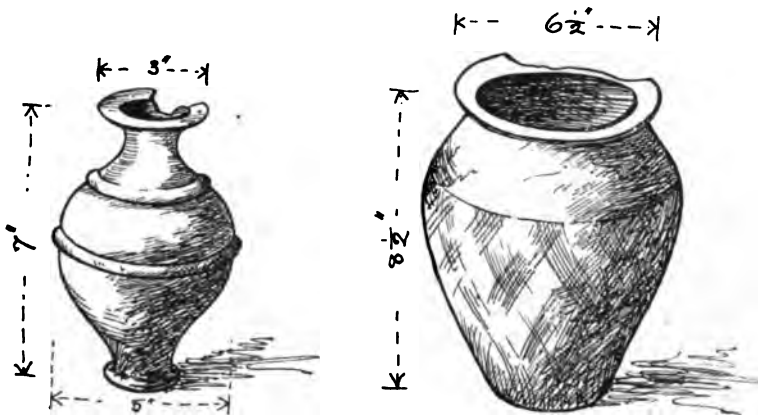
Large *Amphora*, of Light Red Clay, unglazed, very thick.

but nothing ornate, except the plate with a running leaf-pattern on the border. "Generally, the Samian pottery found in Kent is very ornate with *bas-reliefs*, but seldom in a sound condition ; as if broken

in use, and then thrown on the rubbish heap. Also, the burial places I have seen excavated generally contain a quantity of the gray Medway and dull red pottery; seldom any Samian ware."

As I have before mentioned, these finds were hardly covered with 2 ft. of soil, and in the handsome glass vessel were found the charcoal and bones, but no coins; this glass vessel, to protect it from the pressure of the soil, was enclosed in the large *amphora* or wine jar, the top portion of which was broken away for the reception of the glass urn. The only piece of metal of any kind found was a bronze *fibula* or shoulder-brooch.

There might have been Roman villas on this site, but if so, they would have been very unprotected; consequently the suggestion arises



Grey Ware.

that any residence would probably have been on the slope, and that this was only a burial place; in further trenching more remains may be found.

On the slope to the village of Walmer, to judge from coins and pieces of pottery, there was, no doubt, a station with residences.

The question remains, why such a wholesale burial? the contents being mostly domestic articles, with a preponderance of Samian ware, one would almost say the household stock was buried. Or was it, in a hurried removal, buried only for future use, one of the burials having no signs of burnt bones or charcoal? All the bones and charcoal were contained in the glass urn.

I met with great courtesy from Mr. Walker, who represents the firm of Mawson Bros., landscape gardeners, of Windermere, who are carrying out the work for Mr. Och, a diamond merchant in the City. I understand Mr. Och has given orders for great care to be taken of

this find, or any more that may turn up ; and when the house is completed, will have a special case to contain them, and the sites where they were found defined.

EDWARD W. FRY, A.R.I.B.A., Dover.

The Benedictine Abbey of Pershore, Worcestershire. By F. B. ANDREWS, A.R.I.B.A. (Pershore: Fearnside and Martin).—This is a very interesting monograph on a great abbey, written from an architectural point of view for the most part, but not wanting in a very lucid sketch of the history of its fortunes and misfortunes. The illustrations are numerous and well chosen, and the author is to be congratulated on the attractive way in which he has prepared his treatise upon so important a theme. The remains range from early Norman to latest Gothic ; and thus they constitute an instructive example of English monastic architecture, which Mr. Andrews has judiciously described and reproduced in his plates and views. The low price at which this handsome work is sold (3s. 6d.), ought to ensure its success ; and for the numerous examples of details which it contains, it should stand at the right hand of every ecclesiologist and church antiquary.

Itinerary of King Edward I throughout his Reign, 1272-1307. By HENRY GOUGH, Barrister-at-Law (Paisley: Alex. Gardner). 2 vols.—Royal Itineraries have always formed an attractive study with historical antiquaries. The late Sir Thos. D. Hardy prepared one of King John with much painstaking and research. Thirty years ago the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne compiled the *Itinerary of Edward I*, the result of an examination of a large number of public records. This Itinerary has now been re-compiled from an independent examination of the records by Mr. Gough, by the desire and at the cost of the late Marquess of Bute, our former President. It is a subject of regret that neither Hartshorne, nor the present compiler, used a fully complete series of records. Of twenty-six records used by Hartshorne, twelve do not appear to have been employed by Gough, who, however, used fifteen not referred to by Hartshorne. Hence, to some extent, neither of these Itineraries is complete without the other. It is not a little surprising that Mr. Gough makes no mention of Hartshorne's labours. The work before us is certainly a more scholarly production than Hartshorne's. There is an introduction and calendar prefixed, notes are given throughout the work, and the places are identified with accuracy. Probably Hartshorne was hampered by want of space, which prevented his doing full justice to his task, and the portions of

the King's wanderings which took place in foreign parts are weak and full of blanks; whereas Mr. Gough has been able to fill up many hitherto unrecorded dates in this respect, and thus throws new light on an obscure part of the King's life. There are some passages in which the antiquary must choose between the two editors, for example, in the year 1288 :—

July 14, Oleron (Gough).
 July 24th, York (Hartshorne).
 Aug. 4th, Oleron (Gough).
 Aug. 22nd, Westminster (Hartshorne).
 Sept. 3rd, 5th, Urdos, in Valencia (Gough).
 Sept. 10th, 15th, Jacca, in Aragon (Gough).
 Sept. 25th, Montaner, in Bearn (Gough).
 Sept. 26, 27, Oleron (Gough).

 Nov. 25th, 28th, Bellegarde, in Gascony (Gough).
 Dec. 1st, Westminster (Hartshorne).
 Dec. 6th, Bellegarde (Gough).

1289 Feb. 2nd, Abbos, in Gascony (Gough).
 Feb. 3rd, Westminster (Hartshorne).

These, therefore, are conflicting, and some explanation is required before either can be accepted as evidence for the King's presence in the places at which his public acts are dated. The Itinerary, as given by the two editors for 1287 and for the month of July, 1296, may, likewise, be compared with advantage. The value of these Itineraries is very great, as they enable workers among the original documents of Edward I and II, which hardly ever have the date of the Christian era expressed in them, to distinguish between the acts of these two kings. In this behalf the services of Mr. Gough will be fully recognised. We hope he may be led to continue his labours into the reign of Edward II, whose peregrinations were quite as widespread as his father's. But we shall expect that he will not ignore the labours of Hartshorne in that field as well.

History of the Parish of Buxhall in the County of Suffolk, including the Parish Registers from 1558 to 1700. Edited by W. A. COPINGER, LL.D., F.S.A., with full-plate illustrations and specially drawn Parish Map, containing most of the ancient field names. Royal 4to, tastefully printed on fine paper and bound in cloth or art linen, gilt top. Price to Subscribers, 15s. 6d. nett; the price will be raised on publi-

cation to 25s.—The work will contain a History of the Parish from a period anterior to the Conquest, the Church, the Rectory, the Parsons, the Four Manors, the Mansion House of Fasborne, and other halls and houses. The title to nearly every house in the Parish will be traced back about four hundred years. Extracts from wills, accounts, and early documents (including Subsidy Rolls of the time of Elizabeth and Charles I) will be given. The Court Rolls of the Manor of Buxhall, from the time of Henry VIII, will contribute to the value and authority of the history. The devolution of the Manor will, in fact, be traced and deduced without break from Saxon times. The MSS. in the British Museum, the Bodleian, and other University and College libraries have been drawn on for much of the historic data appearing in the volume. Thorough search has been made in the Charter, Close and Patent Rolls; and various other official documents in the Public Record Office have been examined, with the result that this work will be found to contain matters of interest for those having no particular connection with the parish of Buxhall. Many interesting facts are also noted in relation to the adjoining parishes of Finborough, Onehouse, Shelland and Rattlesden, and even to the important town of Stowmarket.

The Illustrations will all be full-page drawings 8 ins. by 5½ ins., and the Parish Map, which is of large size, will contain many of the field names as given in a Survey made a hundred years ago.

Two hundred and fifty copies only will be printed, and names of Subscribers should be sent at once to Messrs. H. Sotheran & Co., 140, Strand, London.

Antiquities at Savernake.—A discovery of flint implements of much interest has lately been made on the estates of the Marquis of Ailesbury, at Knowle Farm, on the borders of Savernake Forest. A gravel pit was opened a short time ago close to the farm buildings, and the implements have been found in this at various depths below the surface of the ground, some embedded in coarse gravel and silt, and others in dark red clay, and at a depth in some instances of 8 ft. to 10 ft. from the surface. The ground is at least 450 ft. above sea level, and it would seem that at the particular place where the gravel occurs two or three streams must have met which had had their courses through the forest, and were making their way to the valley of the Kennet, some three or four miles to the south-east. There is now no stream of water in any part of the forest; and besides this there is nothing to indicate in the present configuration of the ground the source from whence the water, by means of which the valleys were eroded, could have come. It

is only by imagining an entirely different face to the country (such as might have been if the valleys had been eroded before the formation of the Pewsey Vale, some three to four miles to the south-west) that we can conceive an origin for the streams in these forest valleys.

Between two hundred and three hundred implements have already been found, many of them of beautiful workmanship, while others are very rude and apparently unfinished. Whether these latter belong to the earlier "Eolithic" period, and have been washed out of earlier beds of gravel and deposited with implements of a later date (as appears to have taken place on the plateaux in Kent) is a point to be decided hereafter; but it is very difficult to imagine these rude implements to have been manufactured by the same race of people as have made and finished with so much care those apparently lying by their side. Most of the implements are of very superior flint, extremely hard in texture; one or two may be of chert, and one appears to be of "Sarsen" stone, and they bear a marked similitude to those found at St. Acheul in the valley of the Somme. Many have been rolled and have lost all their sharp edges, while others appear to have been made on the spot, and had but little use before they were embedded in the stiff clay where they are now found. Some are very finely polished, as if from the constant rubbing of blown sand, and have an appearance as if coated with glass. They are of all sizes and shapes, some from 5 ins. to 6 ins. long, generally of a rough, unfinished type; others 3 ins. to 4 ins. long, of the common spear-shaped form; others of the well-known ovoid form; and others pointed as if to be used as drills. One or two Palæolithic implements have been previously found in the locality; but the occurrence of them in such numbers as these at Knowle is quite new to the district. No other remains have as yet been found; but considerable interest attaches to the working of these gravel-pits, which will probably remain open for some time.

Interesting Discoveries in Derbyshire.—Few places command a more delightful view than is secured from the broad grass-grown highway that runs from the top of "Sir William" in Derbyshire, through Great Hucklow, descending thence in the valley to Tideswell. The most favourable part of this height is the well-known Barrel Inn at Bretton; this inn, in fact, practically forming the village of Bretton, for there are only one or two cottages besides in the neighbourhood. It can be reached from Grindleford by climbing the straight steep road to the top of the hill known as "Sir William," thence by level road extending about a mile and a-half, from which an extensive view of the country for many miles is open. Or Bretton can be reached readily

from Eyam by a tolerably easy path up the hillside, from the lower main road to Foolow and Tideswell. Travelling from "Sir William" to Bretton, the view on the right stretches away to the hills of Hathersage, Bradwell, and the Peak district, with a few scattered hamlets between, while on the left the wide sweep of country from Eyam to Tideswell is plainly displayed; and beyond are glimpses of the farther land reaching to Chapel-en-le-Frith, with just sufficient habitations to give human interest to the scene without marring the natural beauty of the landscape. Although the railway to Grindleford has made this region more accessible, yet it has not so nearly approached it as to make any marked change in the slow march of time, which seems to have left the natural features of this district untouched through many centuries.

That it has been inhabited for thousands of years there is indubitable evidence to prove, and possibly the inhabitants are fewer now than they were before the Christian era. Mr. Bateman, in his book on the "Antiquities of Derbyshire," gives many instances of the discovery of antiquities which have remained since the days when the Ancient Britons roamed over the hills and valleys of Derbyshire; and their occupation of the district is conspicuously shown by the barrows or tumuli, and stone circles, which still exist. Many of these have been investigated by the antiquaries of time past. Mr. John Wilson, of Bromhead Hall, recorded the finding of Celtic antiquities in the neighbourhood one hundred and fifty years ago, and many barrows were afterwards opened by Mr. Thomas Birds, of Eyam, in 1827 and 1829; Mr. John Oxley of Leam Hall; Major Rooke, Mr. Samuel Mitchell, of Sheffield, and others; and there are many still remaining for the investigation of antiquaries.

From time to time the labours of agriculturists in the field bring to light evidences of a dead past, which the ancient Celtic races took such great pains to preserve. Quite recently, Mr. Francis Middleton, of the "Barrel Inn," Bretton, has unearthed some Celtic antiquities of exceptional interest. On one of his fields was found a well-formed tumulus, or grave-mound, of considerable size, the diameter being over 20 yards, while the original height was about 12 ft. Some years ago, a gentleman from Sheffield made an excavation into the mound from the top, but, unfortunately for him, ceased his labours before he reached the original level of the ground. Mr. Middleton made use of this excavation for the purpose of securing stone, continuing it further down, and at the bottom he discovered a chamber that had been cut out of the original rock. This was 3 ft. deep, 3 ft. 6 in. long, of somewhat oval form, but—rather strangely—there was nothing in it. The entire mound is composed of undressed stones of various sizes,

some very large, with earth between them. In later excavations for stone in this mound Mr. Middleton came across three other chambers that had apparently been formed for interments, though whatever had been originally within had evidently decayed, or had not carefully been sought for. In January, 1899, he found in the tumulus a well-formed stone hammer, which is now in the possession of a gentleman at Eyam. About the same time he unearthed a small cup which had originally two handles, one of which had been broken off. This cup is 2 in. in diameter, $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. deep outside, and nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. inside. It is rudely formed of rather light-coloured clay, apparently mixed with sand, with a slightly-moulded bottom. At first sight it suggests one of the cups known as "incense cups," belonging to the Celtic period, from examples of which it differs in having handles. It is also thinner than Celtic pottery generally, not being more than $\frac{1}{8}$ in. thick. That it belongs to the Celtic period there is good reason to believe, on account of the other things associated with it in the mound, though there are many cases of Saxon burials on the upper part of an ancient British burial mound. Whichever period it belongs to, it is an exceedingly interesting object, not the less so because it is somewhat puzzling to the antiquarian.

But much more striking and important object was discovered in this grave-mound in the present year, coming to light after being buried for probably twenty centuries. This is a vase belonging undoubtedly to the Ancient British period. On the north-east side of the grave-mound is a chamber covered over by two heavy stone slabs, one of them measuring 6 ft. in length, and the other 3 ft., the chamber being nearly 9 ft. long. The slabs are 9 in. thick, so that they are of very great weight. Within this chamber was found this vase, or food vessel, with a dried-up substance in it something like paste. Careful search would probably have disclosed some human remains, calcined or otherwise, and these may yet be discovered, as it is more than probable that this was the chamber in which the remains of some great chief were placed, judging from the general magnitude of the mound and the substantial protection afforded to the tomb by the huge slabs of stone. The vase would be placed with some food in it for the use of the dead on his journey to his future home. Throughout the ages it has lain in the tomb the vase has suffered no damage, and it has been taken out in a perfectly good condition, being one of the finest British vases ever discovered, with a richness of ornamentation very rare on these primitive vessels. It is $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. high, 6 in. in diameter at the top, and $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. at the bottom, formed by hand of a light-coloured clay tinged with red. There is a flat-moulded lip 1 in.

wide, slightly sloping to the inside, and projecting on the outside, with a gently-curved neck $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide below it. Following this a sunk moulded band, $\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, in which there were originally four pierced knobs at equal distances round it, but only one of these remains: the loss of these knobs being the only imperfections, and they in no way interfere with the regularity of its form. From the sunk band the vase tapers regularly to the base, the general thickness of the pottery being about $\frac{1}{4}$ in. The whole of the outer surface of the vase, even on the lip, is covered with a series of zig-zag lines, forming what is styled the "herring-bone" pattern. All these lines are incised, and along each of them is a series of dots, covering the whole vase with a curious network of ornament, which is quite unusual on Celtic pottery, for ordinarily there is only a band of ornament in the upper part of the body. In this respect the vase is strikingly rare, and it ranks amongst the finest and most beautiful examples of Celtic pottery in existence.

A few flints were also found in this grave-mound, and it is very probable that in due course other objects will be discovered in it, for the exploration of the tumulus is far from completed. It is expected that all these antiquities will ultimately find a home in Sheffield.

NOTE.—We have taken the foregoing account of recent discoveries in Derbyshire from *The Buxton Chronicle* of August 30th, 1901: not only because it is well written as a whole, but principally because of the account given of the finding of the vase said to belong to the "Ancient British Period." The writer is a little hazy in his use of the terms "Celtic," "Ancient British," etc., and does not seem to realise the existence of a pre-Celtic period. What he describes so well is an undoubted and very fine specimen of a vessel belonging to the Neolithic period, and, as such, it is specially interesting, and will, we trust, be preserved with due care.

ERRATA.—P. 107, l. 2, *dele* "Friars," and *read* "monks belonging to the Order of Austin or Black Canons." P. 124, lines 12, 13, *for* "Richard Dowsett" *read* "William Dowsing."



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THE JOURNAL

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DECEMBER 1901.

ROMAN ROADS IN LEICESTERSHIRE.

BY COLONEL BELLAIRS, V.D.

(Read at the Leicester Congress, 1900.)



THE Romans who held England for four centuries, held it not so much by military force as by good government; the few remains of their occupation of the country show that peace reigned in the land south of Hadrian's Wall. There was evidently ample means of communication by land and water throughout the country, and trade flourished. Stone is found to have been used in places at a great distance from where it was quarried, and oyster-shells invariably found in the remains of Roman houses in the Midland Counties show that transport was available to the sea. In this town of Leicester, what few stones we have remaining of the Roman period came chiefly from Derbyshire, and may have been transported either by road or water: there is no doubt the latter method of intercommunication must have been much more open in the days of the Romans than it is now. We know that the Danes and Norsemen, who never were far away from their ships, penetrated into the very

heart of the country; and they most certainly, when they ravaged this town and county, came up from the sea by the Trent and the Soar. They destroyed this city of Rataë by fire, leaving only the Roman walls standing; part of which are standing now. These walls were adopted by the Saxons and Normans, and formed to some extent the defences of the town at the siege by Charles I, in the early days of the Civil War. The Roman city of Rataë was built in the form of a military camp, a parallelogram, of such a size as to be capable of holding two or three legions (the estimated area is between 40 and 50 acres), and formed the headquarters of an army which held the centre of the country south of the Trent secure from the invasions of the Brigantes and more northern tribes. A military station of this importance would require roads of communication with the outlying camps and stations, which stretched across the country from Deva, or Chester, on the west to Lindum, or Lincoln, on the east; also with the stations in the rear of this line of fortifications, and with the capital of the country which was then Camulodunum, or Colchester. Of these roads several still exist in this county, including two of the main roads mentioned in the *Itinerary* of Antoninus: the Watling Street, which forms a large part of the western border of the county, and the Foss Way, which crosses the county from south-west to north-east, and proceeds through Rataë to Lindum. The Romans gave no names to their roads in Britain; the names Watling and Foss are Saxon, and the name of another road in this county, "The Gartree Road," is also Saxon; it was converted into "Via Devana" about the beginning of this century, as a distinguishing name, but it is rather misleading.

The Watling Street enters Leicestershire from the south, where it crosses the River Avon at or near the station called in the *Itinerary* "Tripontium;" from thence it proceeds to another station, in the *Itinerary* called "Vennonis," or "Bennonis," now High Cross. Here the road is met by the Foss Road, which crosses it; and there was at this point no doubt a station of consequence, as shown by the numerous mounds and indications of

foundations which exist. The site of the station Vennonis is no doubt correctly fixed at High Cross. It is stated in the *Itinerary* to be 9 *m. p.* from Tripontium, and, measuring from the modern Tripontium bridge over the Avon, it is 8 English miles, which (taking the *passus* to be 5 ft.) makes 10½ *m. p.* The station, however, was not on the river, but is placed about a mile nearer High Cross. No Roman camp or fort was ever bisected by a river, nor the defensive walls ever placed close to the banks of a river; they were generally on high ground, near the bend of a river, so as to be protected on two sides, leaving a space between the fort and the stream, generally a marsh. From High Cross the Watling Street deviates to the left a little, and proceeds in a direct line to Witherley, where it crosses the river and leaves this county on its way to Atherstone, near which place, in the parish of Mancetter, is the Roman station of the *Itinerary* called Manduessedum, which is there stated to be 12 *m. p.* from Vennonis. On the Ordnance Survey it measures 10½ miles, being a little over 11 *m. p.*, but the earthworks there, and the name Mancetter, leave no doubt that this is the site of the station.

Before arriving at Mancetter, the road is crossed by another road of Roman formation (mentioned later) called "The Fen Lanes," which road runs from here through Fenny Drayton, and past Bosworth Field to Leicester. The Watling Street, in its course in this county, is still used as a highway, and is in thoroughly good repair, and seems to retain its original width; there is nothing to show that it ever was paved, but it may have been so in parts. I do not think there is any other instance of a Roman road (or any other road) being a county boundary: which seems to prove that the road existed before county boundaries were fixed.

At High Cross (*i.e.*, Vennonis), the Foss coming out of Warwickshire from the south-west proceeds north-east to Leicester (The Roman *Ratis*, or *Ratæ*). This road, at this point like the Watling Street, deviates from the direct line at High Cross, bearing more eastward, perhaps to avoid some of the swampy ground in which the Soar takes its rise. At High Cross, the road crosses part of the

backbone of England; all the watershed on the west falls into the Severn through the Avon; and on the east it falls into the Humber through the Soar and Trent. For the first two miles from High Cross, this road is only a field road; it is then joined by the main road from Coventry to Leicester, and runs on quite straight, retaining in most part its original width and ditches as far as the entrance to Narborough, crossing the Soar at a bridge called Langham Bridge, a small mediæval bridge of pointed arches, with recesses on the piers on one side, but widened on the other by arches of brick. The Roman road then disappears in the fields, then again is used as a road for a few hundred yards, only to be again lost in the fields. It next appears as a grass field-road, and again joins the Coventry or Narborough Road, where the parishes of Enderby and Lubbethorpe meet about three miles from Leicester, and proceeds straight to that town, crossing the river at Bow Bridge, and enters the Roman town by the West Gate or Jewry Wall. The distance from High Cross to Leicester is ten and a quarter English miles: about 11 *m. p.* The 6th *Iter* of Antoninus gives the distance as 12 *m. p.*, but there is no doubt that the stations or camps of Vennonis and Ratis are correctly placed at High Cross and Leicester. Following the Roman road through Leicester, it would leave the camp by the Roman East Gate, which would be very near the "Porter's Lodge Inn" in Bond Street: perhaps a narrow foot-passage from this street to Church Gate marks the site of the gate. From thence it proceeded in a straight line to where the "old Cross" stood, near the repository, and then proceeded on the Melton road to "Roundhill," where there was formerly a large barrow, marked on the early Ordnance Survey, but which was levelled (about 1840); an urn now in the Leicester Museum was found buried in the mound. It was not far from this spot that the Roman milestone now in the Museum stood; when it was first discovered it was intended to be converted into a garden-roller; but awaiting the insertion of iron pins at each end, it was accidentally seen by an archæologist, through whose influence it was presented to the Leicester Corporation,

who set it up in Belgrave Gate, at the "old Cross," as marking the ninety-eighth mile from London: where the exposure to the weather nearly obliterated the inscription, and it was none too early placed in the Museum. It is a question how many of those milestones there were. Were they placed at each *mille passuum*? if not, why was one placed "*a Ratis II*?"

From Roundhill the Foss turns a little to the left and takes a more northerly direction, crossing the river Wreake at "Lewin Bridge," a little beyond which another tumulus still exists; and then it proceeds by Ratcliffe on the Wreake to "Six" or "Segs" Hill, where it leaves the county. The road about here shows its original width and its ditches for a considerable distance. At this place it is crossed by another Roman road of importance (after mentioned), which in my opinion marks it as the station called in the *Itinerary* "*Verometo*," which is placed on the Ordnance Survey at Willoughby, in Nottinghamshire, about two miles further on. But judging from the distances (there are two mentioned in the *Iters*), Six Hills is much more likely to be the station. In the 6th *Iter* the distance between "*Verometo*" and *Ratis* is given as 13 *m. p.*, and in the 8th *Iter* as 12 *m. p.* On the Ordnance Survey it measures $11\frac{1}{8}$, making about 12 *m. p.* The site at Willoughby measures $13\frac{3}{4}$ English miles from *Ratis*, or about 14 *m. p.* From Six Hills the road proceeds to Lincoln, to which city it is easily traced, and is a good turnpike most of the way; but the sites of all the stations between *Ratis* and Lincoln have never been positively identified.

The Roman road crossing the Foss at Six Hills is a well-defined road, and in parts still used as such, and often shows its original width. It apparently comes from the direction of Boston, on the Lincoln coast, and enters this county at Croxton Kerrial; for a short distance it forms part of the highway from Melton to Grantham, skirting Croxton Park; it is still used as a road at Goadby Marwood. From there by a lane called Long Dyke Lane, and other continuing roads, it goes to Six Hills, and from there by a lane called Pawdy Lane proceeds to Barrow-on-Soar, where many sepulchral and other Roman re-

mains have been found. It then crosses the forest by Beacon Hill, and seems to make for Wall, a station on the Watling Street. One of the most remarkable roads, not mentioned in the *Itineraries*, is—as already stated—named in this county the “Gartree Road.” This is still used as a road, and is in some places in good condition, in others only a bridle-road; it is part of a Roman road which connected Colchester with Chester, and was named by Mr. Carte, one of our early archaeologists, the “Via Devana.” It enters this county at Medbourn, in the south-east, where many Roman remains are found, including a fine Roman pavement, an illustration of which has been given in the *Transactions* of this Association. It then proceeds by Slawston and Cranoe over a hill called Crossburrow Hill, in an almost straight line to Leicester, which it enters by way of the “New Walk,” to the Roman South Gate, which must have been very near another misnamed way called New Street, which is really a very old street, crossing the site of the Grey Friars’ monastery. The two villages on this road, called Great and Little Stretton, show it to have existed at the time of the Saxons. From Leicester this road emerged from the Roman North Gate, which is perhaps now represented by a passage called City Wall Street, crossed the river to the east of the present North Bridge, and proceeded perhaps by the Ansty Lane to Coalville, where some remains of it were to be seen; it passed near Ashby de la Zouche, and forms part of the road from there to Burton, where it crossed the Trent, and, I think, proceeded through Needwood Forest by Uttoxeter, Newcastle-under-Lyme, and Nantwich, to Chester. On its way from this county to Colchester it crossed Rockingham Forest, through Godmanchester, and from thence by Cambridge to Colchester (Camulodunum).

There is another very marked road of the Roman period, previously mentioned, and one which has other historical interest: being the route taken by King Richard III on his march from Leicester to Bosworth Field. This road left the Roman camp of Ratis by the West Gate, now existing, called “the Jewry Wall,” and then over Bow Bridge, by the street now called King

Richard's Road, on to the Hinckley Road. It proceeded through the forest or "chase" of the Earls of Leicester, but not exactly on the present road. The ditches are seen occasionally a little off the roadside, and no doubt it proceeded to the roadside hostelry called "The Red Cow;" from thence through fields by the Forest Farm and Forest House, past a house called Roe's Rest; from thence to Peckleton, where it is very narrow; then through Kirkby Mallory Park till it joins the before-mentioned Fenn Lanes a little north of Dadlington. The Field of Bosworth, formerly called Redmoor Plain, lies a little off these lanes, which proceed onward to Mancetter. King Richard marched from Nottingham to Leicester on his way to Bosworth, and must have come thence by a road, probably Roman, which crossed the Trent at Thrumpton or Barton Ferry, and from thence on the east side of the Soar by Barrow to Leicester; and there seems to have been a road also on the west side of the Soar from Leicester, crossing the Trent at Cavendish Bridge or Sawley. The road from Leicester to Welford, which was during mediæval times, and till about the end of last century, the high road to London, has in many places distinct appearances of a Roman road, though now much diverted from a straight line; and there are several cross-roads in the county not near Leicester, which, from their ample original width and deep side ditches, I have no doubt were used in the days of the Roman occupation.





CHAUCER, AS ILLUSTRATING ENGLISH MEDIÆVAL LIFE.

BY REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A.

(Read March 20th, 1901.)



IN my last Paper read before this Association, in connection with our visit to Lutterworth, I said that the three great lights illustrating English mediæval life were :—

1. Wycliffe.
2. Chaucer.
3. Piers Ploughman.

1. Wycliffe takes the clerical standpoint as a sort of English Savonarola, denouncing the vice and dissipation and coarseness of the upper classes in Church and State in the days of Richard II, and suggesting what reforms were, in his opinion, needed.

2. Chaucer takes the more congenial lay view of a satirist and poet.

3. Piers Ploughman raises a Jeremiad against mediæval defects and shortcomings, but in the characteristic allegorical mode so fashionable in his time.

Since our Congress of 1900, England—or at least cultured England—has been doing honour to Chaucer. The Quincentenary of his death at St. Saviour's, Southwark, was a memorable event, and the old parish church of "The Tabard" is now decorated with a Chaucer Window. The "Father of English Poetry" deserves a memorial there as well as at Westminster; for it is only fair to say (as many critics do), that he was the first Englishman who wrote real poetry capable of being

appreciated in modern times. The service at St. Saviour's, and the unveiling the window by the Poet Laureate, are events I shall never forget. They were most impressive.

In regarding their works as contemporary witnesses of the England of the fourteenth century, I may characterise these three writers thus :—

1. Wycliffe denounced the vices of mediæval England.
2. Piers Ploughman lamented the vices of mediæval England.
3. Chaucer satirized the vices of mediæval England.

But in each author we have an archæological and contemporary record of what the thoughts, fashions, foibles, of our forefathers were. In Chaucer especially, the England of Edward III and of Richard II seems to live before us. Watson says, that in the prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, Chaucer gives "such an accurate picture of ancient manners, as no contemporary nation has transmitted to posterity." This is "a large order," to use an Americanism, but I think it is correct. Neither Dante, not Boccaccio, nor the old French authors (for you remember Rabelais is a century later), gives us such a picture of life in all classes as Chaucer. In this way, Chaucer is not unlike Dickens. He introduces not only mediæval lords and ladies, with their retainers and menials, but cooks, tavern-keepers, sailors, millers, tradesmen of divers kinds. If a young person wanted to know what English society was like in the first half of the nineteenth century, I should say read "*Read Dickens*." If a student wanted to realise the England of the fourteenth century, we might say "*Study Chaucer* ; supplementing your reading with Wycliffe and Piers Ploughman, and the numerous archæological remains we have of the period just before the Wars of the Roses—a rather rich period in Church-building."

There are many points in which the personality of Chaucer is like that of Dickens. Both are humorists, both have a hearty hatred of humbug and hypocrisy; both stoop to depict the poor, the ignorant, and the vulgar; both have vast powers of description. But Chaucer rises to a higher stage of elegance of description, and his imagination is of a far more gorgeous kind than

that of Dickens. On the other hand, he is far more coarse. It is also said that Dickens is not fair to the upper classes and to the aristocracy in his sketches (which are really mere caricatures of fashionable defects). Chaucer is clearly (both by his historic record, and the evidence of his writings) a courtier, accustomed to the society of kings and nobles, and much entranced by the gorgeousness of the feudal monarchies which he has seen in England and France. The bright side of chivalry glitters around you at times, as it does in Froissart, and as the English public know it in Sir Walter Scott's reflection of it from a distant period. But also Chaucer depicts the coarseness, the treachery, the hypocrisy, the sham, the roughness of the Middle Ages.

If we put on Chaucer's spectacles, we not only see tournaments, or mediæval pageants, or fine knights and ladies in baronial halls, but the rough middle-class burgher, the artisan in his rude and humble home, the peasant emerging from barbarism. You have both the light and shadow of mediæval England.

May I summarise the chief points in which Geoffrey Chaucer corrects the common ideas (which many people have derived, probably from school histories of England) as to the state of this country five hundred years ago?

I.

"The people have not much changed really." Most of us must have met, among our private friends, a majority of the personages in the "Canterbury Tales."

I have known "the Knight," though not in armour and bearing a lance (by-the-bye, he does not do so in the "Canterbury Tales"). Have we not met him in an English retired military officer? shall we not see him in many of the senior officers coming from the Transvaal?

"He loved chevalrie,
Trouthe and honor, freedom and courtesy.
Full worthy was he in his lordes war,
And thereto had he ridden no man farre
As well in Christendom as in Heathenesse,
And ever honored for his worthiness."

It is a slightly antique reproduction of the retired British cavalry officer.

2. "The Squire" is a familiar object as the young subaltern or undergraduate. The chief difference is, that of few we now meet can we say they are

"Lowly and serviceable ;
And carved before his fader at the table."

Here we have the mediæval touch.

3. "The Prioress," in spite of her profession, is rather a typical English lady, especially in the old weak points so often quoted :—

"French she spake full faire and fetysly
After the school of Stratford-atte-Bowe,
For French of Paris was to her unknowe."

Not a few of our lady friends, who try school French in Paris, find that this criticism, is in substance not yet out of date.

"She would weep if that she saw a mouse
Caught in a trap, if it were dead or bledde
Of smale houndes had she that she fedde
With roasted flesh, or milk, and wastel bread."

I have often met "the Prioress" in modern costume.

4. The "Clerk of Oxenford" is a capital type of an Oxford Don "in plain living and high thinking."

"Of study took he most cure and most heed,
Not oo word spake he more than was need ;
And that was said in form and reverence,
And short and quick, and full of high sentence.
Sownynge in moral virtue was his speech,
And gladly would he learn, and gladly teach."

May Oxford never be without such sons !

I am sure you may met the "Clerk of Oxenford" any day in Term, in many a college quad ; only happily less poor and "lean" than his mediæval prototype.

6. "The Serjeant of the Law, ware and wise," is to be often met at the Inns of Court.

"No where so busy a man as he there n'as,
And yet he seeméd busier than he was."

7. Of the poor "Parson of a Town" I need not speak.

He is one of the grandest ideals of clerical life in English literature. Some say Wycliffe was meant, but I hardly think so, for Wycliffe was a scholar and philosopher rather than a working clergyman. It is a good sign of the times when one who has been like the "poor parson" should be made a bishop.

So we might go through the list. There is scarcely one that we have not met, save perhaps "the Doctor of Physic," whose practice seems very different from that of our day. And what is the historic lesson we can learn from this? That costumes, and habits, and fashions may differ, but the "John Bull" of the end of the fourteenth century is very like his descendant of the end of the nineteenth. The descendant may be more polished, and more free, and perhaps wealthier, but he evidently belongs to the same family. This is a great lesson to learn, and I wish it were more enforced in history lessons at our schools: for children are often taught to look on the mediæval Englishman as a being quite strange and foreign to the people he meets at home or in the streets. In Chaucer we merely find our friends dressed up as it were for an Old English Fair: the same people in slightly different costume.

II.

"Was this England of the fourteenth century better than the England of to-day?" The question is often asked by moralists, and I will not dare to reply. Perhaps it is hardly within our province as an archæological society to try to solve the question.

But certainly both Chaucer and Wycliffe give a very black representation of mediæval morals. Unfortunately, Chaucer mars his usefulness to posterity by his outspokenness on this subject. Like most old-fashioned Englishmen, he "called a spade a spade," and the dark tales he depicts are shocking to modern sensitiveness and revolting to our sense of decency.

But is not this alone sufficient to show that, after all, the England of to-day—bad though it is—is not quite so bad as the England of Richard II?

The worst is, as a matter of evidence, that Wycliffe says, in more decorous but still in awful language, very much the same thing. Beneath the gorgeousness of feudal pomp, society was rotten, vicious, and degraded. There was a need of some reformation, and Chaucer himself felt it, and the common sense of England awoke to the need after his death. The leaders of the Gothic revival of sixty years ago, who dwelt on the superior merits of the Middle Ages to modern times, could hardly have read Chaucer, or what he says about what he saw and knew. He depicts a society more corrupt in many ways than the England of to-day. If we are shocked at the improper stories he tells in plain language—and I can hardly excuse him for it, nor does he in his later writings consider himself blameless—we should remember that these tales are related by professedly religious people on a pilgrimage, which should be regarded as an act of devotion. I question if Dickens ever depicted hypocrisy more general and barefaced than that of Chaucer's "Canterbury Pilgrims."

III.

"Is our age pre-eminently an age of sham and hypocrisy, or was the England of the fourteenth century as bad as the England of to-day?"

Most moralists answer the first—that such shams as exist now were never known before our time, and the "Man in the Street" believes them. But Chaucer tears aside the veil from mediæval hypocrisy and sham in a merciless manner. He introduces us to hypocrites as shameless and as false as the Stigginses, Chadbands and Pecksniffs of Dickens's pages, and it may be of our own time. The "Alchemist Canon," "the Wyf of Bath," "the Sumpnour," and "the Pardoner" and "Friar" are worthy rivals of the Deputy Shepherd, or Mrs. Varden, or Gradgrind.

IV.

"Is the humour of the English of five hundred years ago different from that of the England of to-day?"

It may have been coarser, but Chaucer's fun is much

the same as that of Dickens, of Leech, of the better comic winters in the nineteenth century. French wit and Italian wit, cutting, sarcastic, veiled in "*double entendre*," is very different. An Englishman finds a difficulty in laughing at foreign jokes, even if he clearly sees the allusions. Chaucer, after five hundred years, can easily raise a laugh. I contend that he gives the best comic description of mediæval England in our language. The *Ingoldsby Legends* may seem very funny, but they are founded on modern notions of what the Middle Ages were, and are not always accurate. Chaucer laughs at the follies and humbug which he actually saw in the generation between Crescy and Agincourt. The *Ingoldsby Legends* may be unfair, but Chaucer no doubt relates what he knew. Sir Walter Scott has not much to say on the comic side, and Dickens's "Comic History of England" is unworthy of him. In some sense Chaucer is our Old-English Aristophanes. Few books represent better the seamy side of ancient Athens than that great comedian's. Much of his genius is reproduced by our great mediæval wit. If it had not been for Aristophanes, we should hardly have realised what home-life in Athens was like; and how much of the sordid and absurd there was even in the age of Plato and Phidias.

V.

"Was there not more French influence on English society in Chaucer's time than now?"

The question is more difficult than it seems. No doubt Chaucer learnt much of his poetic art from French *trouvères* and *troubadours*, whose tales he borrows and puts into English dress. The civilisation and culture of the upper classes (many of whom were of Norman families) were French. Still, the lower and middle classes were distinctively English; and it is probable that French influence, although fashionable, did not reach so much downwards in the nation as it does now.

The whole topic of the influence of France on English society, from the Norman Conquest to the present day, is one of considerable interest, and might form a subject for an elaborate essay. It may hardly come within our

bounds; but I may say in passing that the rural districts of Germany have more illustrations to offer of English social life in the reign, say of Queen Anne, or even of Queen Elizabeth, than the rural districts of England now show; and much of this change I attribute, not so much to nineteenth-century progress, or twentieth century, if you will, as to French influence. I have heard German society, as it is to-day, truly defined as more "like England under George II than England is now."

At any rate, in Chaucer's time French influence was strong, and his writings are influenced by mediæval France as well as England. But we must not exaggerate this point. Chaucer travelled—had lived in France—and French thought and sentiment, and fashionable modes of expression, influenced him, and the English fashion of the time supported him in his Frenchified tone. For some years there are reasons to think he was a prisoner-of-war in France (1360); and probably he mixed daily with Frenchmen. This may account for some of his Gallican style.

One point in Chaucer is conspicuous and can hardly be disputed. He was the first of English poets that wrote what can appeal to the feelings and ideas of modern England as real poetry. The men before him were rhymesters who hardly appeal to any modern sentiment, and are only interesting to us from an archæological, or literary, or philological standpoint. Indeed, the same may be said of the writers of the period of the Wars of the Roses, and even of the early Tudor epoch. Who studies now Lydgate, Bradshaw, Barclay ("Ship of Fools"), Skelton?

It is only when we come to the Elizabethan Age, and the period of Marlowe, Shakespeare, and Ben Jonson, that we reach the true epoch of English poetry. Chaucer is thus the true "father of English poetry," as he has well been called.

Finally, although there is much that we may regret—as he himself seems to have regretted it—in what Chaucer wrote, yet he is important to an archæologist as a contemporary recorder of what mediæval England was like. I cannot agree with those who complain of Bowdlerised

editions. We may take the good and leave the ill. Still, Chaucer was a great man and before his age. Many of his pithy sayings are as true and telling now as they were five hundred years ago. Though he was a poet of the age of Crescy, and died before Agincourt, still in many senses he is a modern, and some of his remarks apply to the twentieth century as truly as to the England of the fourteenth century. In this we feel his true greatness; for he wrote, not merely for his own period, but for modern England, and his quaint remarks are as true now as ever. This is the real test of intellectual greatness. One of the most characteristic instances is Plato, who is a greater power now, as I believe, in modern Europe than perhaps he ever was in the two thousand years that have elapsed since his time. Many of his thoughts are modern, and quite up to date. So to a less degree is Chaucer a mediæval Englishman: and yet still, in his wise and epigrammatic sayings, a depicter of character and a teacher of clever thoughts, the first writer of true English poetry, who was called to his rest just five hundred years ago.





ST. NICHOLAS CHURCH, LEICESTER.

BY C. LYNAM, ESQ., F.S.A.

(Read at the Leicester Congress, 1900.)



THIS church at present consists of a nave (with a clerestory) and north and south aisles; a central tower, north transept, chancel, and south chapel, which latter is an eastern extension of the south aisle. The north transept, with a strip of the north aisle, forms the organ chamber and vestry. There is also a south porch.

Besides the entrance from the south porch, there is another south doorway in the south chapel, opposite to the south-east pier of the tower.

The font is placed at the west end of the south aisle, at the east end whereof there is a separate altar, in addition to that in the chancel. On the south side of the chapel are sedilia, with three seats of one level, and piscina recess. At the east end of the south arcade of the nave there is a small recess, about 14 ins. square; also a new credence table in the north wall of the chancel.

The architectural history of this church cannot be detailed except by dealing with it wall by wall, so many have been the alterations carried out from time to time. The restorations of recent years also render this imperative, and anyone not knowing the particulars of these restorations may be trapped by the attempts so skilfully made to follow the character of the ancient works.

Before entering on such a detailed architectural examination, it will be useful to refer briefly to the writings of some of those who have already dealt with the subject.

First of all, John Nichols, in his *History of Leicestershire* (published in 1795, and dedicated to "His most Sacred Majesty George III"), expresses his opinion of the church, as it then existed, in the following terms: "This church has little to boast of in respect of architecture; its walls are immoderately thick, the pillars and arches that support the roof are heavy, and consequently an impediment to the preacher.

"The tower and south-west entrance of the church have very evident marks of the remains of very early Saxon architecture, almost bordering upon the Norman era.

"The steeple, being in a very dilapidated state, was taken down about ten years ago, and the poverty of the parish (with the consent of the Bishop) has not suffered it to be rebuilt.

"The tower belonging to the steeple is now covered over with a good roof, and ornamented with four pinnacles, one at each angle, with an iron spindle rising from the centre of the roof which supports a weathercock."

Then Nichols has a line or two about the Jewry wall, and says: "the bells are the oldest in Leicester," giving as the inscription on one of them "Goldfield Nazarenus Rex 1656," which should really read "I. H. S. Nazarenus Rex. G. Oldfield, 1656."

Nichols further relates that: "The chancel is used as a vestry, and a chapel at the east end is now the site of the altar. Also there were formerly three aisles, but about the year 1697 that towards the north was taken down in consequence of its ruinous state."

In a word or two about the condition of things at the end of the last century, this writer further states: "The parish is small, and formerly unable to maintain a preacher, for which reason it was usually held by the Vicar of St. Martin's; but of late years, by the beneficence of Queen Anne, the liberality of the Corporation, and the contributions of the parishioners, it is regularly provided with a separate vicar. In 1650 the only return made was 'the same man that hath St. Martin's.'"

We shall all agree that the statements made by the great historian, Nichols, are interesting to us at this hour;

and remembering that he wrote in the "Sacred" Georgian era, we can understand the bias of his architectural opinions. Allowance must also be made for him that he did not see the building as we view it now, but in all probability every part of the internal facings were covered with (shall I say "sacred"?) plaster or whitewash. Here let me say a digressive word or two on the long-fought question of the removal of whitewash and plaster. Let me ask, looking round at the variety of materials and workmanship which the removal of plaster has revealed, and at their various periods of construction, should you prefer to them the dull, monotonous, speechless face of a wholly plastered interior? If original plaster—laying strong stress on the term *original*—could indeed and verily be shown to us, then on the score of unreserved obedience at the shrine of archæology, one would bow the head and leave it; but we do not know here that original plaster or whitewash have been removed, and, therefore, we may unite in confessing our heterodoxy, and giving thanks to those who have preferred to expose for our benefit the natural materials and the varied forms of construction, which gratefully meet our eye on every side.

To return: there is another learned author who in time back expressed an opinion on the architecture of this church, Dr. Lyttelton, Bishop of Carlisle; who says, when writing about the Jewry Wall—"I observed a good deal of Roman tile worked up in the adjoining church, which is a structure *purely Gothic*, and not above *five hundred years old* at the farthest." Here again we should remember the difference which restoration has made to the fabric since the good Bishop wrote. But it is time we came to a period nearer to our own day, and bring to mind that this Association in 1862 held its first Leicester Congress and visited this church; and one of its members having a great reputation as an ecclesiologist, and being specially clever in hitting off the varied characteristics of mediæval architecture almost at a glance, gave his views upon this subject, which, coming from Mr. Edward Roberts, were published in our *Journal* for 1863.

It is due, all round, that Mr. Roberts's views should be before you in brief, and therefore you will perhaps excuse an extract from his paper. He writes: "This church formerly consisted of a nave with aisles and a chancel; the north aisle having been taken down since the end of the seventeenth century, and the nave arches filled in. The round-headed small openings in the exterior, arched as they are in Roman bricks, recall Brixworth Church. It is, however, certain *that the old materials only were used*; and *probably* these windows and the walls are not earlier than the time of Henry II, and perhaps towards the end of his reign. Internally, some of the arches have been thrown together in modern times. There are remaining specimens of almost all the periods of Gothic architecture, and some singular attached as well as detached shafts at the east end, which overhang considerably. The nave arcade is very massive and imposing, with its circular arches and heavy piers."

After this we may look at the building itself. He would be a bold man who entered the lists with Edward Roberts in the field. He it was on whom Sir Gilbert Scott relied, when delivering his lectures on mediæval architecture at the Royal Academy, for the description of Brixworth Church, Northamptonshire. He it was to whom some of us at least have listened with amazing wonder, at his display of quick and accurate acumen in his intuitive descriptions of mediæval work. With all reverence, then, we quote him, and all but absolutely follow him; but he himself was a bold man, and we do not dishonour him in summoning up courage to traverse his dictum, at least as to the date of the north nave wall. But, before taking this step, let it be said I am not aware of any new light having been thrown upon what Mr. Roberts expressed since the period at which he wrote.¹

¹ Since my examination of the church, a History of it, by the Rev. T. W. Owen, has been shown to me, but opportunity of reading it has not been afforded to me.

INTERIOR.

That this structure is of intense interest to the archæologist and historian all will agree. Its architecture, construction, materials, and varied dates, go to make up a relic which is indeed precious to every one who interests himself in the past of this our country.

The feature of acutest interest perhaps may be said to be the north wall of the nave. This embodies an arcade of two bays, two small and peculiar openings above the arches, and a clerestory, giving light from three two-light windows, palpably of a date at least four centuries later than the work beneath it.

If we would get at the dividing line in the height of this wall, a glance at the nave face of the central tower will do much to disclose the division. On this wall the raking lines of the early roof are still distinctly to be seen. Tracing these down to the flank wall, and allowing for the timbers of the roof and for a probable alteration of the first wall, when the raising of it took place, there may be discerned the actual dividing line along this flank wall of these two dates in the height of this wall.

A careful examination of the rubble facing also discloses a difference in the character of the workmanship. The upper part has more of the nature of coursed work, and the stones are purposely selected, to some extent, for horizontal bedding. That the two main arches are of Norman workmanship no one will debate. Their semi-circular form, ashlar voussoirs and pier jambs, moulded imposts, and rubble filling in to the soffits, tell unmistakably of their style. Now we come to the two small openings above the arches. There has evidently been a considerable amount of introduced material about the jambs of these openings, and also to a lesser extent about the arches themselves. One almost sees the workman, with his bucket of grout and brush, giving antiquity to the look of his new material, inserted to appear like the old work as much as possible. But, speaking generally, these arches may be regarded as genuine.

That they are formed of Roman brick, picked up at hand for the purpose, there can be no doubt; but the point is, did the same men who turned the great arches below construct these two rude openings? Mr. Edward Roberts recalls to us the corresponding arches at Brixworth, Northants., and it happens that a month or two ago I was at Brixworth, and made the sketch of one of the arches there, now shown to you. Looking at this and the work before us, we shall, I think, agree entirely with Mr. Roberts in putting the two examples of Brixworth and this in strong alliance; but whilst Mr. Roberts said that probably these are of Norman date, he pronounced the Brixworth work to be Saxon.

Let us consider the probabilities of this point. The Normans were accomplished builders, both constructionally and artistically; their style of architecture is as pronounced as either Greek or ancient Roman, and their design is always truly artistic, though of massive character. Now look at this wall, and in imagination take off the late top part, bringing it to its original level; and let us settle for ourselves whether or not the two openings and the two arches are by the same designers. For my part, I have no hesitation in saying *No*. The work of the arches and that of the tower (of which more presently) do accord, but these and the little openings distinctly differ. These openings were originally windows. Take away the great arches and make the wall solid at its reduced height, and do we not get a flank familiar to those who have studied very early Norman and Pre-Norman work? With regard to these former windows, it will be noticed that their glazing or shell line would be in the midst of the wall, which of course is one of the characteristics of Saxon date. I call to mind, however, two instances of this class, one in Essex and the other in Suffolk; but in both these cases ashlar stone was apparently unprocurable, and the line for glazing was formed of rubble, as here. In Norman work, as a rule, the glazing line is as near as possible to the outside face, with wide splays inside, so as to catch the most light from the outside, and spread it broadly within.

There is one characteristic in this wall, which is in

the direction of a Norman rather than a Saxon origin, which is its considerable thickness. As a rule, the Normans built massively, whilst the Saxons were content with solids of less dimension. The kind of rubble necessitated here might, however, modify this predilection.

This wall has detained us a long time, but I hope its treatment here has not been without some degree of interest. The remaining features will be got through more quickly.

Being in the nave, let it be said now that the south side originally, in all probability, corresponded with the north; the responds, east and west, now alone remaining as representative of the ancient work. It was a bold engineering idea to span these two piers by one arch, as it is now seen: but architecturally it is a mere monstrosity; and the sight of it (if such could be had) by the original designer and builders of the church would assuredly drive them crazy.

It will be noticed that the late clerestory windows differ materially in their character; those on the north side have foliated lights, whilst the south are larger and plainer, and without cusps. The mullions and tracery on the south side are insertions of recent date.

Coming now to the central tower, it will be seen that it is, as appearing from the interior, wholly of good, bold Norman character. Each of its four sides has its pier and double order and semicircular arch, with a bold impost moulding at the springing, and following the plan of the piers throughout. This moulding consists of the usual broad fascia and V groove, with a hollow on the soffit. The only visible base is on the south side of the two south piers, and is a simple square projection. The whole work is built of coursed ashlar, with broad joists. The Norman builders would not trust to rubble walling in this part of their church. A large amount of the original diagonal tooling remains on the facing, and several ancient mason's marks may be seen in the form of a simple triangle. There is a broad projecting buttress on the south side of the south-west pier, and on the north side of the north-west pier. No stair-turret appears to have existed, and the present access to the

upper stages of the tower is by steep steps from the north transept, and through an opening in the north wall, and further steps upwards to the bell chamber.

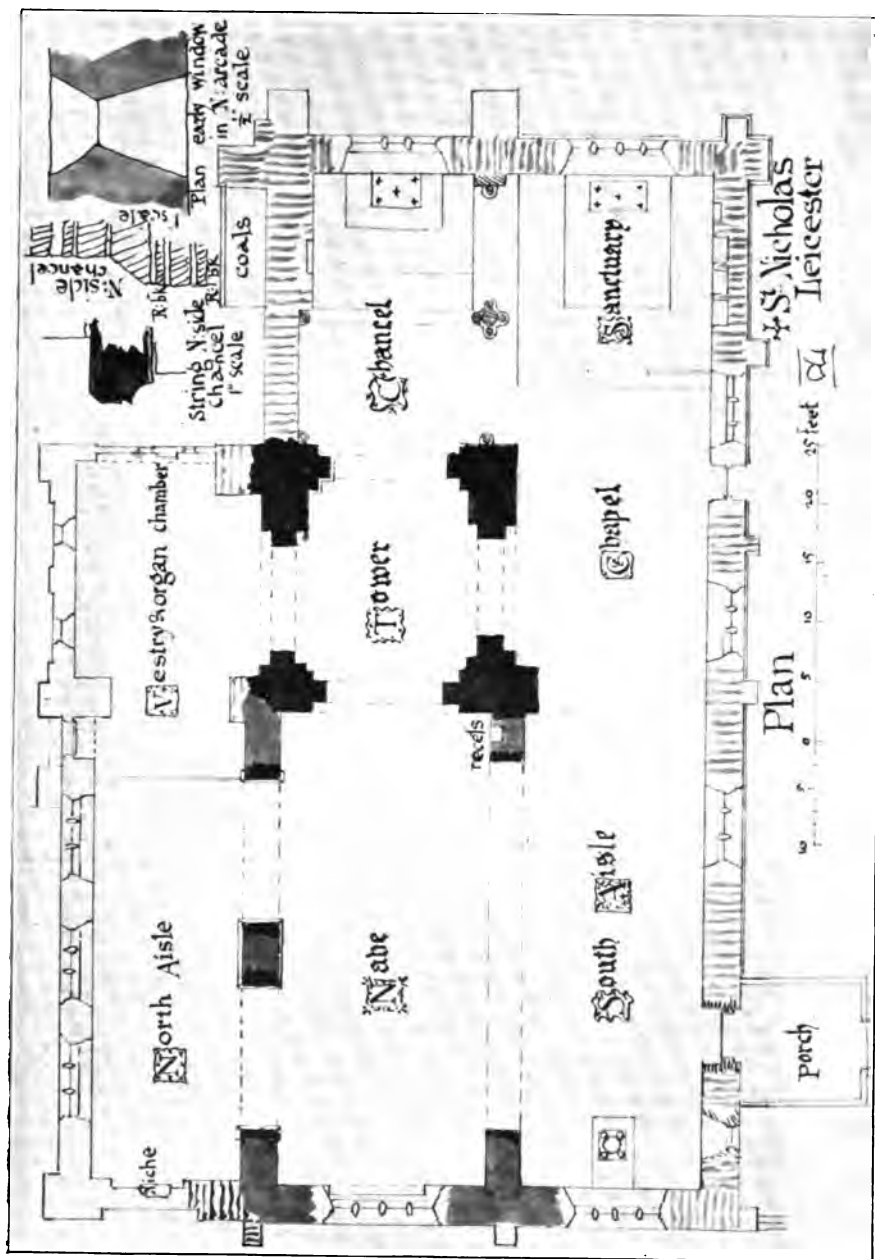
On plan the two western piers are alike, but they differ from the eastern piers, and these from one another.

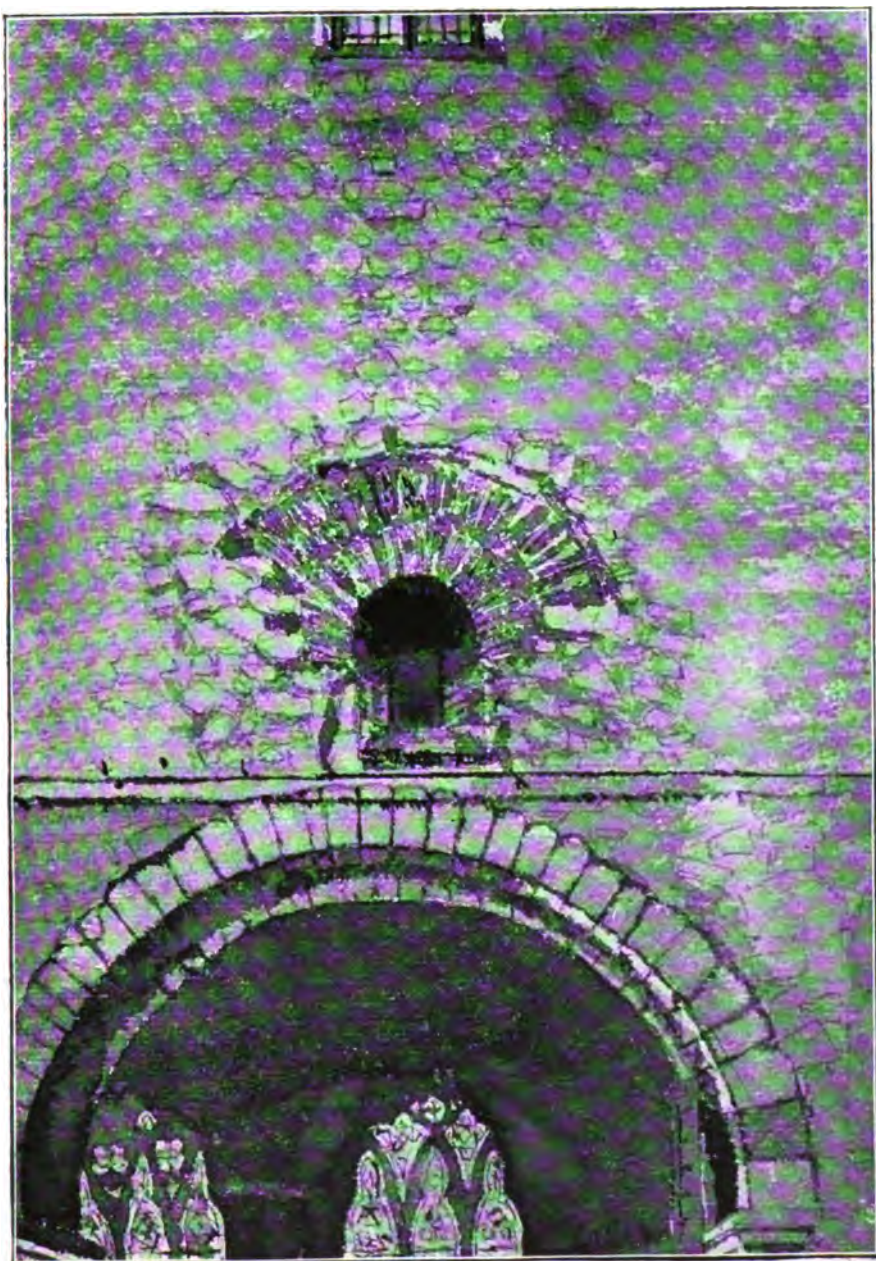
The outer faces of the tower above the arches are mostly of ashlar, but there are in them sundry patches of rubble work. On the eastern face is an opening, apparently of modern construction.

Immediately above the crown of the arches, there runs on the inner faces a projecting stringcourse along each inner face, and above this a blind arcading on all sides, of five arches, having shafts, square in section, with chamfered bases, and imposts carrying semicircular arches, constructed of small voussoirs with a soffit of about 12 ins. in depth. The filling-in to the arcading is of rubble work. Within a foot of the summit of the arches a modern floor is placed, which puts this very effective arcading into complete darkness. Whether this was originally lighted it is not easy to determine.

Coming now to the chancel, it will be seen that here the main details present another period of work, the next in point of date to Norman, as seen in the blind arch in the north wall, and the two bays of the south wall; and if Mr. Roberts was right in fixing the Norman work here as late in the reign of Henry II (1154-1189), this Early-English in the flanks of the chancel followed it, at all events within some twenty years or so: that is to say, this Early-English work cannot be later than the reign of King John (1199-1216). It will be agreed, I think, that the architecture here is of exquisite design, and perhaps exceptionally so, as found in a small parish church like this.

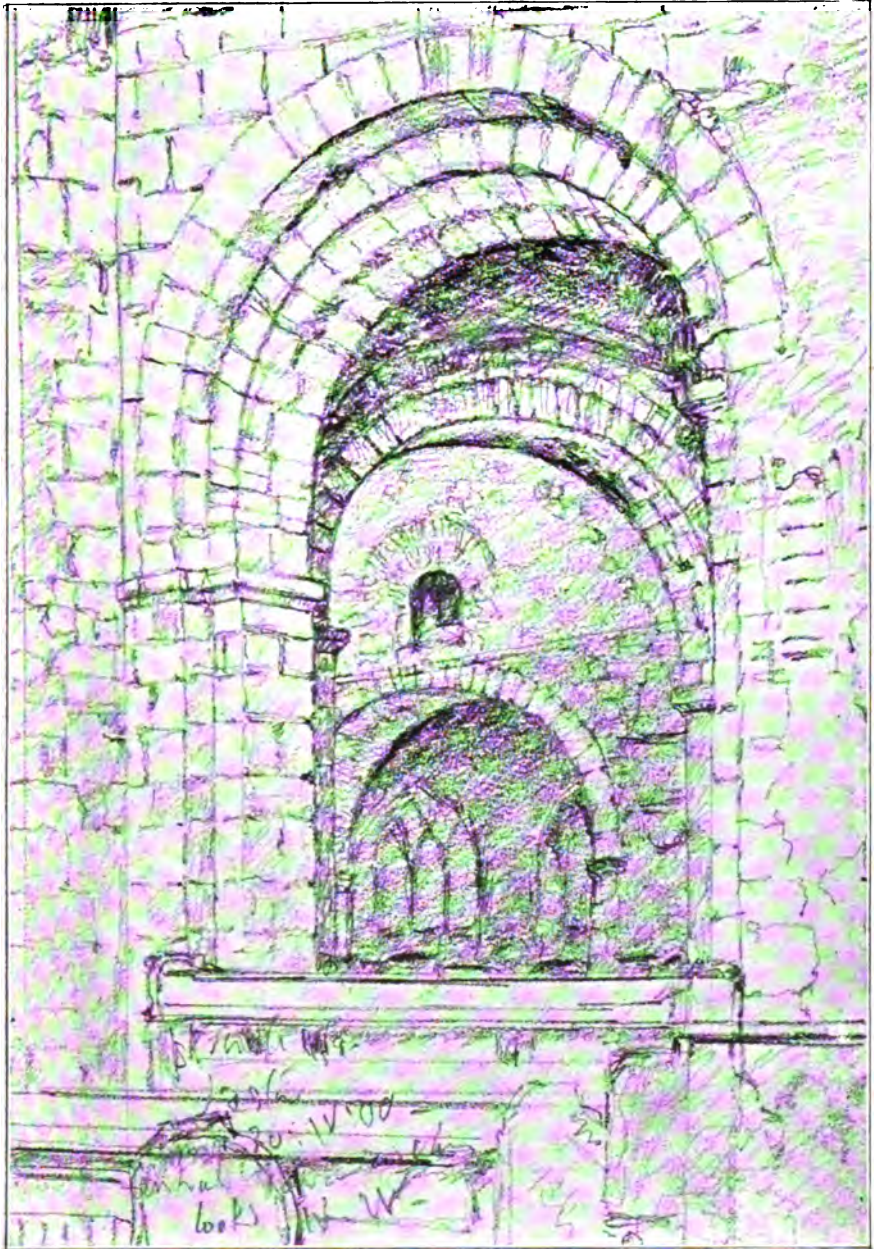
Mr. Roberts remarks on what he terms the "overhanging" in the shafts of the respond piers, and certainly their treatment is not a common one. Looking at the way in which the small detached shafts are dealt with, in relation to the larger engaged shafts, one feels that there has been an alteration in the design—that when the architect had built his clustered central shaft, he thought his responds something inconsistent, and brought





PART OF N. WALL OF NAVE.

[C. L., del.]

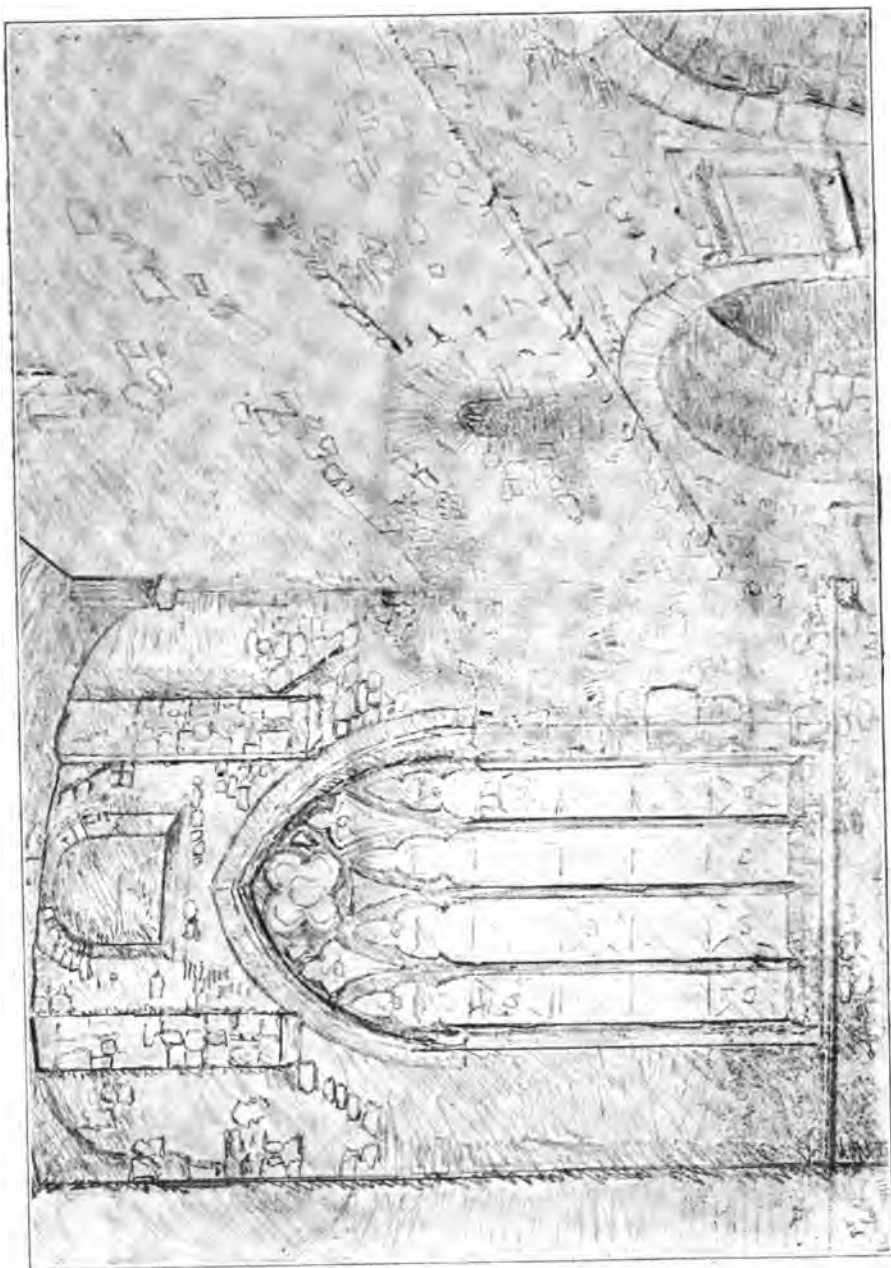


SOUTH SIDE OF TOWER, LOOKING N.W.

[C. L., delt.]



8. OF TOWER, BRIXWORTH.



N.W. ANGLE, NAVE.

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SEDILIA, S. CHAPEL.

them into harmony with his main pier. No doubt, in those days he might do this without the fear of breaking a contract, or even of creating a dreaded "extra."

There is a clever touch of design in the way the outer order of the Pointed arches is received by the clustered shaft. For this, a small shaft with cap and base is continued up the wall, thus getting over a difficulty with excellent effect. Whether the walls of the chancel are coeval with the Early-English work, or whether that represents insertion, it is not easy to say; but the proportion of its length is rather that of the Norman than the Early-English builder. The walls are probably of an earlier date. The only window here is a large three-light one at the east end, which is of recent insertion. The presence of the northern arch and the south arcade indicates that at their date a chapel on both sides was existent; that on the south being the larger of the two.

To turn now to the south chapel and aisle, it may be said at once that all the mullions, sills, and tracery of the windows are of recent date, but the inner jambs and arches are mostly original of the Decorated period. Beneath the level of the sills in the chapel runs a continuous string-moulding. The inside jamb of the east window of the chapel has a shaft with moulded cap and base, which carries a moulded inner arch to which there is a hood-moulding. The rubble walling is probably of Decorated date, but the south wall has been raised from about the level of the window heads, and the east wall shows that the pitch of the roof has been lowered, part of the original raking-line of the gable still remaining. The south doorway to the chapel is of recent date.

The west wall of the south aisle has sundry peculiarities. Its thickness has been reduced at the level of about half the height of the mullions. In the north-west angle there is some indication of the nature of pier and arch, as of an arcade. The raking-line of the old gable is also apparent. Near this wall there are the wide splays of a single-light window, which suggests an earlier date for this part of the south wall; and in the south doorway,

near to this window, we have unmistakeable work of Transitional character, from Norman to Early-English. This is a finely proportioned opening, with a bold impost at the spring, decorated with the nail-head ornament; and a semicircular arch, which has a flat hood-mould enriched with the chevron on its face. On the whole, this feature is of admirable design, and in date would perhaps come in between the Norman tower and the Early-English of the chancel. This doorway and its neighbouring lancet-window suggests that the western part of the south-aisle wall is of early date.

The roof-timbers of the nave appear to be of the date of the clerestory, and are the oldest to be seen in the church.

In the modern part of the west wall of the north aisle has been fixed a niche of considerable dimensions, of late Perpendicular period, carried on elaborately-carved corbelling, and having buttressed jambs and projecting canopy, very much enriched, and showing the Tudor rose in its traceried soffit.

Of ancient glass there does not appear to be a fragment, nor of any important monumental remains; but the ledger-slab of slate, under the pulpit, to the wife of Gerrard Anderson, should be mentioned, and the mural tablets.

In an ancient and well-framed cage in the tower there hang three bells, inscribed as given by Mr. North, as follows :

1. I.H.S. Nazareus rex 1656 G. Oldfield.
2. God save His Church Henry Smith Richard Hunt Wardens 1710.
3. Celorum Christe platiat tibi rex sonus iste 1617 (with shield).

Mr. North translates this last inscription as follows :

"Be Christ the King of Heaven
Pleased when this sound is given."

EXTERIOR.

Of the exterior the most striking feature is the square tower rising from the midst of the church, in a manner that makes one wonder what its supports can be. Then

we get its strange mixture of brick and stone, producing at first sight a jumble of patchwork; but on closer examination we perceive that there is brickwork *and* brickwork, one ancient, the other modern: the ancient for the most part lying in what is known as herring-bone fashion: the modern, a mere ugly cover to a former and ancient double-storied arcade; the lower series having had five arches, uniform in size; the upper, formed of one central arch with two side arches subdivided into two, having the effect of an interlacing treatment. Above the upper arcade runs a strongly-projecting corbelled cornice, surmounted by a plain parapet, not original. The angle pinnacles and weathercock may be taken as those of which Nichols speaks as lately put up in his time. One pictures this tower as it originally stood, rising from the ground and above the gabled roofs of the nave, chancel, and transepts, with its completed architectural forms of shaft and arch and receding faces, with all its charm of light and shade and studied proportions, and one wonders who could have the heart to obliterate this beautiful wall-veil with the common material of the common brickyard. This, of course, is only taking an architectural view of things. No doubt other considerations had to be taken into account; and we must also remember that perhaps the sacred Georgian æra prevailed at the time of the monstrous transformation. And it may be that the advance in clockmaking wished to advertise itself over the simple sundial on the southern face of the south aisle.

But, be these things as they may, we have by this sketchy review disclosed to ourselves something of the architectural art which reigned on the four sides and summit of this ancient tower, as designed by the skill of the Norman architect.

The band of Roman brick herring-bone work seems to have run round the walls immediately above the ridges of the four limbs of the cross, and to have served as an ornamental start for the walls, as seen above the roofs. It runs through the thickness of the walls, and was therefore a bond-course of Norman, not Roman, fashion. The lines of the rakes of the roofs are seen externally on

the east and north sides, and on the west inside; but nowhere on the south side.

On the east face of the tower there are distinct marks of two pitches of roofs, above the present one. The original Norman external north-east quoin of the tower still exists from ground to cornice under the parapet; and it is remarkable that there are no visible traces of connection between the north transept and the tower.

It is doubtful also whether there is any indication of an abutting wall for the chapel north of the chancel. These circumstances lead to the question, whether this north chapel ever was finished? There can be but little doubt that the filling-in of this archway is of early date, from the character of the rubble work and the use of Roman brick.

The north wall of the chancel has a moulded string at its eastern part, of Late Norman work, and the wall is reduced at the level of the top of this string. In this flank wall Roman brick is much used. Early English buttresses (repaired at a later date) remain at the north-east angle of the chancel.

The rubble facing of the north clerestory is very rough, and some parts of the late, but quaint, cinquefoil heads of the windows are much perished. Along this wall there is a set-back coped with slates.

There is a small portion of the ancient rubble facing in the east gable of the chancel, but for the most part this end and that of the south chapel have been re-faced.

On the south wall of the chapel there are three fragments of an original string, but the facing has been renewed.

The upper part of the south aisle wall appears to have been carried up at a later date than the lower part, which retains some original stones of a slightly projecting chamfered plinth. None of the ancient dressings to windows are left in any part of the church, except those already noticed in the clerestory to the nave.

The south porch was once of timber-framed construction. Its outer and inner trusses still remain, also the wall-plates, rafters, and ridge. All, except the rafters (which appear to have had panelling beneath

them) are tenderly moulded; and projecting below the ends of the ridge-piece are carved heads forcibly expressive. The loss by the removal of the wall framings can hardly be estimated, but we are warranted in saying that this porch must have been of great architectural beauty of fifteenth-century workmanship.

At the south-west corner of the south aisle there is an original fragment of wall and buttress. At the west end, the south aisle gable has been re-faced, and that of the north is new. In the centre of the nave gable the outline of a large semi-circular arch and jambs remains, and the original rude and massive quoin stones are still in place at the south-west angle. This wall is original, and probably of the date of the early openings and wall on the north side of the nave.

Of the churchyard, Nichols records that the then present Vicar, the Rev. John Anderson, secured a fence for its enclosure, which freed it from the nuisances to which it was subject. Within its present boundary there are two fragments of large Roman pillars, about 2 ft. in diameter. Also a fragment of a moulded Roman cap and base to smaller columns, and a large weather-worn stone, circular moulded in one part. This, and some of the other stones have lewis, or mortice-holes on the top.

It seems to have been a fashion in Leicester to make the "head-stones" of graves of slate, and there are many in this churchyard, some with the lettering beautifully cut. The oldest that caught my eye is dated 1707. The mediæval "smalls" linger here to late times, and the freedom of the elaborate ornamentation on many, and the various panellings, are not to be regarded as destitute of art.

Whatever may have been the nuisances which had to be suppressed in Nichols's time, the present state of this churchyard is one that any parish might be proud of.

In conclusion, let me be allowed this one remark. The town of Leicester has its roots deep down in a remote antiquity, but its stem and branches are still strong and vigorous. So it must likewise be said of this little fabric of St. Nicholas Church. It has an early history—no one

knows its real age—but the aim and purpose of its origin are still fulfilled in daily practice and unwavering faith. Witness also the present good condition of the church and churchyard, and the existence of the capital residence of the present Vicar ; and contrast these with the record of squalor and void as given by Nichols at the end of the last century.





THE EARLY LORDS OF BELVOIR.

BY W. A. CARRINGTON, ESQ.

(Read at the Leicester Congress, 1900.)



THE history of the early Lords of Belvoir is somewhat involved. It has generally been accepted that Robert de Todení was the first Lord of Belvoir. On the other hand, it is maintained by a recent writer on the subject, that William de Albini, son of Niel of St. Sauveur, Viscount of the Cotentin, Lord of the Isles of La Marche, etc., held Stackthorne (Stathern, Co. Leicester) and Belvoir before Domesday, in right of his wife Adeliza, daughter of Osulf *fil.* Fane, Lord of Belvoir, *temp.* Edward the Confessor; who married, secondly, Robert de Todení. However this may be, it is unquestionable that Robert de Todení built the Castle of Belvoir, and founded the Priory there.

He was rewarded by the Conqueror for his services with grants of many lordships; and his great barony, as entered in *Domesday*, included lands in thirteen counties, comprising eighty manors altogether; the chief of which lay on the borders of Lincoln and Leicester, in six of which Osulf (the reputed father of his wife Adeliza, in right of whom Robert held the lordship of Belvoir) is recorded as having previously held them.

Robert de Todení is supposed by some to have been the standard-bearer to William I, or to have been a relation of that individual; but this is refuted by one of the ablest known writers of Norman history, who says: "There is no question at all about the standard-bearer. Ralf de Todení, or Toeni (now Thesny) was hereditary standard-bearer of Normandy, but declined to carry the standard at the battle of Hastings, that his hands might be freer for the fight. The authority for both statements is Wace's *Roman de Rou.* Ralf received a barony in

England, of which the *caput* appears to have been at Flamstead, Herts. Robert de Toden, the Lord of Belvoir, had nothing to do with the standard. It can only be a blunder of some late antiquary to assert that he had. It is not even known for certain what relation he was to Ralf."

The Castle of Belvoir was built on what was probably the site of an ancient British encampment; and a charter has been preserved, with a seal attached of green wax, bearing, perhaps, an approximate representation of the castle, as it was originally built. The castle appears there as an embattled elevation of three tiers, the two upper of which have on the face a succession of Norman arches and buttresses. On the opposite corners of the battlements there are two representations of men's heads facing each other, behind one of which rises a staff, with a flag. The whole is surrounded by a massive outer wall. The seal upon which this representation is found is that of William de Albini III, attached to a charter of confirmation of the grant of a meadow between Bottesford and Muston, to Hugh de Charmel, a distinguished knight, who had the keeping of Belvoir Castle under the said William. He wore the emblazoning of the Albinis, counter-changed; *gules* a fess ermine, between two chevrons *or*.

Robert de Toden, after erecting the castle, founded at the foot thereof, in 1077, a priory for four Benedictine or Black Monks, which, by a subsequent stipulation with his friend Paul, Abbot of St. Albans, became a cell of that monastery. Robert endowed the same with ample revenues for the maintenance of the monks, who were to pray for the souls of Count Robert de Mortaigne, Earl of Cornwall, half-brother to the Conqueror; of Robert de Toden, the founder, and Adeliza, his wife; and for the soul of the King; as well as the souls of their parents and children. Not being able to complete the work he had begun, he assigned the privileges of patron to the Abbot and fraternity of St. Alban's, upon condition that they should complete his design, and that the bodies of himself and his wife should be buried at St. Alban's, or in the church of St. Mary's Priory at Belvoir, if they died in England.

He promised that he would endow the church of St. Mary's Priory with a tenth of all his lands, including four carucates of land (each carucate containing about one hundred and twenty acres of plough land), with the meadows pertaining to the same, near the castle, and twenty acres of land near the church, for offices and buildings for the monks and their dependants, with free and undisturbed possession; also the tenths of his vineyards, and a site for a mill; the tenths of all his vills, with the firstfruits of all that was titheable, etc.

On the death of his wife Adeliza, Robert de Todeni gave one carucate of land at Sapperton (Co. Lincoln) to the church of St. Mary, for the benefit of her soul.

The total yearly revenue of all the grants to the Priory of Belvoir, by him and his successors, at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, would be represented, at the present value of money, by from six to eight thousand pounds.

Robert de Todeni died in 1088, and was buried on the north side of the chapter-house of the Priory. His remains continued undisturbed till December 6th, 1726, when a ridged stone coffin was dug up upon the site of the old chapel, with an inscription in French, and in Longobardic characters of lead, noticed by Dr. Stukeley, who records: "that his bones lie in the same trough underneath." The inscription is: "Robert de Todeni le Fundeur," whose sculptured memorial tradition asserts to be the small figure in mail armour, of speckled marble, affixed to the north wall of the chancel of Bottesford Church, but which is more probably that of William de Albini III, who died in 1236.

According to Dugdale, Robert de Todeni had, by his wife Adeliza, four sons: 1, William; 2, Berenger; 3, Geoffrey; and 4, Robert, and a daughter Agnes, who married Hubert de Rye; but, according to a later authority, Berenger was the eldest son; 2, William; 3, Robert; 4, Geoffrey, and another daughter, Adeliza, who married Roger Bigod; and that Robert de Todeni was succeeded by his second son, William de Todeni, who held Belvoir *temp.* William II, which was held after him by William de Albini Brito, who was not the son of

Robert de Todení by his wife Adeliza, but the son of William de Albini, the former husband of Adeliza, who was deprived of the lordship of Belvoir, which was afterwards held by Adeliza de Todení, daughter of Robert de Todení, and sister of William, Berenger, Geoffrey and Robert—half-brothers to the said William de Albini Brito. It appears from the Pipe Roll, *temp.* Hen. I, that Adeliza de Todení, who married Roger Bigod, Viscount of Norfolk, gave 200 marks to Henry I for the lordship of Belvoir, the inheritance of the Albinis. Cecilia, daughter and heiress of Roger Bigod by Adeliza de Todení, his wife, heiress of Belvoir, married William de Albini, called I, son of Roger de Albini, son of William de Albini by Adeliza, who married, secondly, Robert de Todení.

According to the last-quoted authority, William de Albini I is stated to have married Cecilia Bigod, daughter of Roger Bigod; yet it is elsewhere said that he married Maud, daughter of Simon de St. Liz, Earl of Huntingdon.

William de Albini Brito not only confirmed previous grants to the Priory, but added considerably to them. He died in 1135, and was buried on the north side of the Priory chapter-house, leaving two sons, William and Ralph. He was succeeded by his eldest son,

William de Albini II, who is said by one authority to have married Maud, daughter of Simon de St. Liz; she has however, been assigned by another as the wife of William de Albini I; but, from the Register of the Priory of Belvoir, Adeliza was his first wife and Cecilia his second: which is partly confirmed by a charter still extant, in which two sons of William de Albini II occur, viz., William and Ralph; and in which also Cecilia, the second wife of William de Albini, is described as the mother of William. William de Albini II died in 1168, and was buried in the church of the Priory. It would appear from a charter of Ralph Brito, brother of the last-named, that he held the lordship of Belvoir, but whether before or after William is not evident. William de Albini II was succeeded by his son,

William de Albini III, who accompanied Richard I at the head of his army into Normandy in 1195. He was also one of the twenty-five barons who witnessed the signing of Magna Charta by King John, in 1215. He died at Uppington in 1236. There are preserved in the muniment room at Belvoir several very interesting charters of this William. One is a grant, already alluded to, with the consent of William, his son and heir; of Matilda, his wife; Cecilia, his mother; and of Ralph de Albini, his brother, of the church of Redmile, to the church of St. Mary at Belvoir, for the welfare of his soul, and of the souls of all his ancestors and parents, etc. A seal is attached, on which is a representation of William de Albini on horseback.

The third Albini is said to have been a great hunter and game preserver, which is to some extent corroborated by another charter of his, granting to the church of St. Mary at Belvoir, the thorns and trees growing in his warren of Belvoir; with an express reservation, to him and his heirs, of hares, pheasants, and partridges. *Temp.* John.

William de Albini III married, firstly, Maud, or Margaret, daughter of Odonelle de Umphraville; and, secondly, Agatha, daughter of William Trusbot, of Watre, Yorks. He died May 6th, 1236, at an advanced age, and was buried at Newstead. His heart was deposited under the wall opposite the high altar at Belvoir Priory, with this inscription (now in Bottesford Church): "Hic Jacet Cor D'ni Willielmi Albiniaci cujus corpus sepilitur apud Novum locum juxta Stan'fordiano." William de Albini III was succeeded by his son,

William de Albini IV, or Will. de Belvoir, the last lord of the House of Albini. He married: 1, Albreda de Bisset; and 2, Isabella, living 29 Hen. III. By his wife Albreda he had a daughter only, Isabel: who, at his death in 1247, was under age, and a ward to the King, who bestowed her in marriage on Robert de Ros, Baron of Hamlake. Will. de Albini IV was buried before the high altar at Belvoir; his heart at Croxton.

Robert de Ros was the representative of a family of great importance in Yorkshire. He was fifth in descent

from Peter de Ros, who, by marriage with Adeline, daughter of Sir Walter Espec, became possessed of large estates in Yorkshire and elsewhere.

For about two hundred and fifty years after the death of William de Albini IV, Belvoir, with many manors in various counties, remained with the family of Ros; when Edmund, Lord Ros, dying in 1508, without issue, his estates were divided between his sisters and co-heirs. Eleanor, the elder, married Sir Robert Manners, of Ethale, co. Northumberland, through whom Belvoir, with other possessions, became the inheritance of the present family.

The following extracts from the Patent Rolls, *temp.* John, supply further very interesting information, chiefly relating to the family of Albini of Belvoir.

26 Sep., 3 John.

Grant to Ralph de Albini that he may enter upon the land which he holds of Will. de Albini, from the time he entered it, for six years following.

by Peter de Rufibus (Bishop of Winchester).

4 John.

The Countess of Warenne is Pledge for Will. de Albini, &c., concerning the deed for which they were taken.

21 Novb., 5 John.

Know ye that we have allowed whatever Will. de Albini may do concerning the sale and entrance on the lands and rents of Robert, the son of Walter, by the seal of the said Robert, for his redemption from the prison of the King of France—saving our service.

Teste me.

13 Feb., 7 John.

The King to Alberic de Vere, Earl of Oxford. We command you that without delay ye deliver to William de Albini, Robert, the son of Robert de Ros, the hostage which ye have in custody.

T. me apud Quarreburch.

14 Dec., 17 John.

Item. Agatha Trussebut, wife of William de Albiny, and William de Beauveer, son of the same William have letters of conduct lasting until Thursday next after the feast of St. Lucy.

Given at Farnham.

29 Dec., 17 John.

The King to his constable of Beauveer, saluting. Know ye that Hugo de Charnell, Rob. fil. Will., Gerard de Fanacourt, Thom. de Lincoln, Will. de Staunton, Hugo de Lehalm, Will. de Caskingthorp, Will. Pantulf, Ran. Morin, Walter de Ho, Bartholomew de St. Hillary, Will. de Stodham, and Will. de St. Paul, Knights, who were in the castle of Beauveer, have come to our fealty and service, and likewise the under-written servants, viz., Gervase de Wiverton, Gervase de Huncthorp, Rad. de St. Paulo, Walter de Hotot, Walter de Montovire, Rob. de Huntendon, Rob. de Uffinton, Will. de Barkeston, Will. fil. Will., Drogo de Wyvill, John de Saxendale, Rob. de Hotot, Henry Ruffus, Will. de Hordby, Henry de Brompton, Henry Janitor, Stephen de Middleton, Rob. le Bret, Hugh Avenel, Peter de Hundesby, Rad. de Coleston, Henry de Osevilla, Andrew de Muston, Rob. de Seggrebroc, Adam Clericus, Geoffrey de Martingwost, Roger de Miese, and Alex. de Tanton.

And therefore we command you that you maintain, protect, and defend them, and all theirs, doing nothing to them or theirs, or permitting injury, harm, or loss to be done. But them, and their arms, and all their harness, which are in the Priory of Beauveer, ye permit them to have in peace, and without impediment.

Et in hujus, &c., vobis mittimus.

Teste me ipso apud Newerc.

17 John.

John Rex, to the constable of Beauveer. We send to you our beloved and faithful brothers, Alan Martell, and William de Pratellum, that they may see our castle of Belvoir, and its provisions and garniture, and may hear your account concerning the tallages taken by you in your bailiwick. Therefore we command you that ye render to them an account of the aforesaid, showing to them the provisions and garniture of the castle, and whatsoever money ye can deliver to them to bring to us.

In testimony of which, these our letters patent we send to you.

Teste me apud Lincoln.

17 John.

Our Lord the King has received in his safe conduct, Agatha, wife of Will. de Albini, Will. his son, and their servant, in coming to London to our Lord the King, to confer with him with the Master of the Knights Templars in England, and the Prior of the Hospital of Jerusalem, and in staying or delaying with the Lord the King with him concerning the delivery of William de Albini, and in returning to London, as long as to the Epiphany.

5 Jan., 17 John.

Agatha, wife of Will. de Albini, and Will. de Beauver, son of the same William, and all his whom with him they brought, have

the same letters from the fast of Eiphiphany, to the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Apud Tresk (Thirsk, Yorks.)

William de Albini the III was imprisoned by John, and the safe conduct given to Agatha Trusbut his wife, and to his son William de Belvoir, was extended more than once, in order that they might collect the money demanded for his ransom.

5 Feb., 17 John.

The King to all his bailiffs in whose bailiwics William de Albini has lands and tenements, saluting. Know ye that we have consigned to our beloved and faithful Oliver de Butevill and Robert Peverell, the whole land of William de Albini, with all the appurtenances, to keep as long as it pleases us. Wherefore we command you that ye permit them to have the aforesaid custody in peace; no person being permitted to injure or molest them &c.

T. me ipso apud Gyseburn..

22 Feb., 17 John.

Agatha Trusbut, wife of Will. de Albini, and all of hers whom she brought with her, have letters of safe conduct from Ash-Wednesday until the middle of the forty days of Lent. Lincoln.

2 March, 17 John.

Rex. Omnibus &c.

Know ye that we have received in our Chamber on Wednesday, next after the feast of St. Matthew the Apostle, in the 17th year of our reign, at Bedford, by the hands of Geoffrey de Buteville, and Robert de Harestan, clerks of William Gernun £331 and 10 Shillings of Tallages taken around Beauveer, and that they may now be quit, these our letters patent we have caused to be made to them.

T. me apud Bedford.

The following seems to be the dispersion of the garrison of Belvoir on the restoration of William de Albini :

7 June, 18 John.

The King to Hugh de Charneles, and to all others, Knights and servants, who were in the Castle of Belvoir with William de Albini and came to their fealty, saluting.

We command you that ye go into our service with our beloved and faithful William Gernon, where he shall order you, and that ye be to him in these things which he shall say to you to our faith and advantage.

Teste me apud Devisas.

18 June, 18 John.

William de Buteford, chaplain of William de Albini, has letters of safe conduct in going by the whole power of our lord the King for the redemption of his lord, for the time required, from Lord's Day next before the feast of St. John the Baptist in the 18th year of our lord the King, for the ensuing 3 weeks.

T. the King at Warham.

Same date.

William de Beauveer has letters of safe conduct to come to our lord the King to place himself as a hostage for his father, Will. de Albini, Nicholas de Albini, William de Buteford, Chaplain, of the said Will. de Albini, and Agatha Trussebut, wife of the same, have similar letters.

Same date.

The King to all &c. Know ye that we have ratified and allowed that Agatha Trussebut, wife of Will. de Albini may sell and mortgage as much of the lands of her lord the said William as may be sufficient for his redemption.

Teste me ipso apud Warham.

THE CASTLE, ETC.

The Castle built by Robert de Toden appears to have survived until the era of Thomas, Lord Ros, whose estates, in consequence of his adherence to the House of Lancaster during the Wars of the Roses, were, on the accession of Edward IV, confiscated; and Edward rewarded one of his adherents, William, Lord Hastings, commonly called "the Bastard," with the honour, castle, and lordship of Belvoir, with the park and all its members, consisting of Woolsthorp, Barkston, Plungar, Redmile, Harby, Bottesford, Normanton, and Easthorpe; with the advowsons of their churches, and the rent called *Castle-guard*, throughout England, at that time an appurtenance of the Castle. When Lord Hastings came to inspect the Castle—his contemplated residence—he was suddenly attacked by a Mr. Harrington, a friend to Lord Ros, and driven away. Incensed by this opposition, Lord Hastings came with a strong force, and so injured the Castle that it fell to ruin. The timber of the roof, stripped of the lead with which it was covered, rotted away, and the soil between the walls grew full of elders, in which state it

remained until it was partially rebuilt by Thomas, thirteenth Lord Ros, created Earl of Rutland in 1526. Lord Hastings carried the lead from the Castle to Ashby-de-la-Zouch, where he built extensively. This Earl received an augmentation of his arms, by reason of his descent from a sister of Edward IV. He died September 20th, 1543, and was buried in the middle of the chancel of Bottesford Church, where there is a beautiful alabaster tomb to his memory, on which lie the recumbent effigies of the Earl and his Countess, Elianor.

The rebuilding of the Castle was completed, in 1555, by his eldest son and successor, Henry, Earl of Rutland.

It appears, from the accounts at Belvoir for the years 1540 and 1541, that, on the spoliation following the dissolution of religious houses, quantities of timber, stone, lead, slate, etc., from the Abbey of Croxton and the Priories of Belvoir and Thurgarton, were used in the rebuilding of the Castle : full details of which, with the operations at the Castle, are given in detail in the Volumes for those years.

Owing to the attachment of John, eighth earl of Rutland, to the Parliamentary party, the Castle was taken possession of in 1643 by the adherents of Charles ; and it suffered a series of bombardments by the Parliamentary forces from the end of November, 1645, to the end of January, 1646, resulting in its surrender to the Parliamentarians, February 3rd, 1646 ; and subsequently, in 1649, the Castle was demolished by an order in council. After the restoration of the monarchy, the Castle was rebuilt by the same Earl. In the year 1664 much work was done at the Castle, and the accounts contain numerous charges for materials, wages to masons, plumbers, carpenters, painters, labourers, etc. In the year 1668 it was completely finished, and adorned with gardens, plantations, etc.

The fabric remained until the beginning of the last century, when the fifth Duke, father of the present noble owner, conceived the design of rebuilding it. The work was continued from 1801 to 1816, and the structure was advancing towards completion, when, on October 26th, 1816, a fire broke out, resulting in the total de-

struction of the north-east and north-west fronts, entailing the loss of a large and valuable collection of paintings, many by Sir Joshua Reynolds; and a portion of the plate. The work of restoration was recommenced March 10th, 1817.

The cost of rebuilding the Castle from 1801 to 1816 amounted to £118,555, and from 1816 to July, 1829, a further sum of £81,987 was expended.

Stained glass of four windows in gallery of the Guard Room, executed by Wyatt.

On the first are the arms and scroll of "Robert de Toden;" in the second light of the same window, the arms and scroll of "William de Albini."

The second window contains representations of two knights in Barons' coronets and mail armour, with shields and scrolls, memorials of "Robert de Todnei le Fundeur," and "D'Albini." The former holds a standard, on which appears, *gules*, two lions passant guardant, denoting the office of standard-bearer.

In the third window are representations of knights with similar coronets and armour, commemorating "Walter Espec.—Fidem semper regibus servans; behind whom is some drapery, with the cognizance of Scotland, in allusion to his valour in the Battle of the Standard, in 1138; and Robert de Roos," on whose tabard of *argent* is a cross-moline, *gules*.

The fourth window contains the shields and helmets, etc., of Robert de Toden and De Roos.

The arms of Toden are *gules*, an eagle displayed within a bordure *argent*; of Albini *or*, two chevrons with a bordure *gules*; of Belvoir *azure*, a catherine-wheel *or*.

The following is a translation of a writ to the Sheriff of Lincoln, and of an Inquisition touching the metes and bounds of the warren of Belvoir, 36 Hen. III. :—

Henry by the grace of God King of England Lord of Ireland Duke of Normandy Aquitaine and Earl of Anjou To our Sheriff of Lincoln Greeting We Command you That by Oath of Honest and Legal men of your County by whom the Truth of the matter may

the better be known you diligently enquire by what Metes and Bounds William de Albinaco the Father of Isabel, the wife of Robert de Ros (whose heir she is) have had warren at their Manor of Belvoir and the appurtenances to the said Manor And by what Metes and Divisions We have had that Warren while the said Isabel was under age and in our own Wardship And that without delay you send to Us the Inquisition thereon distinctly and openly made under your Seal and the Seals of those by whom it shall be made And this Writ. Witness ourself at Clarendon the Third day of July in the 36th year of our Reign.

An Inquisition made by precept of our Lord the King by what Metes and Divisions William de Albinaco the Father of Isabel the Wife of Robert de Ros (whose heir she is) and his predecessors have had Warren at their Manor of Belvoir and the appurtenances to the said Manor and by what Metes and Divisions our Lord the King hath had that Warren whilst the said Isabel was under age and in the wardship of our Lord the King by the oath of these under written of the County of Lincoln, to wit, Henry de Galevill Bartholomew de Gassingthorp Hugh de Boby Nicholas de Lundenthorp Gilbert de Denton Simon de Bonevill Robert Bassett Robert de Steynwich Walter de Denton William the son of Alan, Alvered Crespin Alan the son of Ralph Adam de Graunt Alein de Cauz and Thomas de Fanecourt Who upon their oath say that the said William de Albinaco the father of the said Isabel and his predecessors have had Warren at their Manor of Belvoir and the appurtenances to the same Manor by these Metes and Divisions to wit From the water of Dyvene where the Water Mill was wont to be which is called Holdmylne between the field of Gnypton and Wullsthorp and so to the Greenway between the field of Gnypton and Wullsthorp unto the Gate of the Tanhouse of the Lord of Belvoir and so unto the of the Lord of Belvoir and so unto the top of the hill of Blakeburg towards the south and so descending unto Leicester way and so by the same Leicester way unto the way which leads from Eyton as far as the town of Stake-thirne and so through the middle of the town of Stakethirne unto the Church and from the Church unto the way which leads to the gate of Robert Maynard and so to the tanhouse of the Prior of Haverholm towards the north and so by the said way descending unto the brook of Redlonde and so unto the brook of Barkeston towards the east and so descending by the same brook unto the bridge of Mannebrigg and so from Mannebrigg by the way of Brigate and so from Brigate unto Redmylthorp and so from Redmylthorp unto the top of Slehtenge towards the north and so unto the top of Kaldewellsike towards the west and so unto the tanhouse of the Prior of Belvoir and so surrounding the Priory of Belvoir unto the way which leads to Belvoir unto the bridge of Wulesthorp and so by the water of Dyvene unto the said old Mill

which is called Holdmynle where they began the firste Mete and Division of the said Warren. They also say on their oath that our Lord the King hath had the aforesaid Warren at the Manor of Belvoir and the appurtenances to the same Manor by the same Metes and Divisions aforesaid whilst the said Isabel was under age and in the Wardship of our Lord the King.

Translation of an extract from the Charter Rolls. 27 Edw. I.

The King to Archbishops, etc. Know ye that we have and by this our Charter have confirmed to our welbeloved Isabel de Ros that she and her heirs for ever may have free Warren in all her demesne lands in Bottesford and Redmile in the county of Leicester Woolsthorp in the county of Lincoln and Orston in the county of Notts. whilst those lands shall not be within the Metes of Our Forest, So that none may enter those lands to chase in them or take anything pertaining to the said Warren without the licence and pleasure of the said Isabel and her heirs upon forfeiture to Us of ten pounds. Therefore We will and firmly command that the aforesaid Isabel and her heirs for ever may have free Warren in all her aforesaid demesne lands whilst those lands shall not be within the bounds of Our Forest, So that none may enter those lands to chase in them, nor anything take which pertains to the same without the licence and pleasure of the said Isabel and her heirs for ever upon forfeiture to Us of ten pounds. Witnesses: Venerabilis Patribus A. Denelm', W. Coventr' et Lych' Ep'is, Joh'e Warrenna Comite Surr', Humfro' de Bohun Com' Hereford' et Essex', Guydone de Bello Campo Comite Warr', Joh'e de Wake, Willmo' de Ros de Helmesle, Will'o le Latimer seniore Roberto de Clifford, et alij

Date. per manum N'ram apud Ebor' xvj die Novemb'

Lord Robert de Ros died in 1255; Isabel his wife, daughter and heiress of William de Albini IV., died in 1301.

Translation of a Writ, and Inquisition Post Mortem, taken after the death of William de Ros. III.

Edward, etc. To his Beloved John de Windesore his Escheator in the County of Leicester Greeting. Whereas William Roos of Hamelak who held of us in Capite is dead as We are informed We Command you that without delay you take into your hands all the Lands and Tenements whereof the said William was seised in his Demesne as of Fee in your Bailiwick the day whereon he died, and them safely keep until We shall command you otherwise And that you diligengly enquire by the Oaths of honest and legal men of your Bailiwick by whom the truth of the matter may the better be known, how much Land the said William held of Us in Capite as well in Fee as in Service within your Bailiwick the day

whereon he died, and how much of others, and by what Service, and how much those Lands are worth in all Issues, and what day the said William died, and who is his next heir, and of what age. And the Inquisition thereof distinctly and openly taken You do without delay send to Us into our Chancery under your Seal and the Seals of those by whom it shall be made, and this Writ. Witness Ourself at Westminster the Third day of December in the Twenty-sixth year of Our Reign over England, and over France the Thirteenth.

An Inquisition taken before John de Windesore Escheator of our Lord the King in the County of Leicester at Redmylde on the 20th day of January in the year of the Reign of King Edward the Third after the Conquest the Twenty-sixth according to the tenor of the Writ of our Lord the King sewed to this Inquisition By the oaths of William de Ledebury, William Geffrey, Richard le Clerk, Thomas le Potter, Simon de Stoke, Richard de Langar, John le Noble, Roger de Muston, John de Rous, John the son of Ralph, William de Grelleye, and Henry Braunche, Who on their oath do say that William Roos of Hamelak deceased held in his Demesne as of Fee on the day he died certain Lands Tenements and Rents with their appurtenances in the Vale of Belvere in the said county of Leicester of our Lord the King in Capite as parcel of the Barony of the Castle of Belvere, to wit, at Redmyld one Capital Messuage, which is of no yearly value beyong Reprises, but there is a certain Dovehouse which is of the yearly value of Twelve pence And there are Five Oxgangs of arable Land whereof two parts are (for sowing) of the yearly value of 26s. 8d., and the third part, residue thereof, nothing worth, because it lies every year waste and in Common, But there are Eight Acres of Meadow, which are of the yearly value of 8s. and lie in Common after the Hay is carried off, And there is a certain Park whose Pasturage is worth by the year 3s. 4d., besides feeding the Deer, And there is no underwood, And there is a certain Thorny ground called the Warren of Beauvoir whose soil and pasturage belongs to the Towns of Statherne, Plungarth and Barston, and of no yearly value, for that if the thorns are cut away they cannot grow again by means of the cattle of the aforesaid Villages feeding there, And a certain Windmill which is of the yearly value of 10s. And there is of yearly Rents of Assize of free and customary Tenants 9*li* 6s. 8d. payable at the terms of St. Michael, the birth of our Lord, Easter, and St. John the Baptist, by equal portions. There are no Pleas and Perquisites of Courts because the Courts and Views are by custom there always holden at the Town of Beaver in the county of Lincoln, And there is a certain custom which is called Palfrey Silver and ought to be levied yearly out of the towns of Bottesford, Normanton, Herdeby, Claxton, Muston, Howes, Barkeby, Queneby, and other Hamlets in the said county of Leicester, and amount to the sum of 4*£*. a year and

ought to be paid yearly to Roger Beler Tenant of the Hundred of Framelond in the county aforesaid, to the use of the King within the farm of the said Roger for the Hundred aforesaid. There are there no other Profits, But they say that the said William died in parts beyond the Seas before the feast of St. Michael, but on what day the Inquisition knows not, And they say that Thomas Roos of Hamelak, Brother of the said William Roos of Hamelak deceased is Brother and next Heir of the said William, and was of the age of fifteen years at the feast of the Birth of our Lord last. In Testimony whereof the said Jurors have to this Inquisition put their Seals.

William de Ros III, in 1352, accompanied Henry, Duke of Lancaster, to fight against the Saracens; but died the same year, in the twenty-sixth year of his age, on his journey to the Holy Land, and was buried abroad.

ROYAL VISITS TO BELVOIR.

Four visits of King James I to Belvoir are recorded in the Household Accounts. The first occasion was on his triumphant progress from Edinburgh to London, "hunting" as a contemporary writer says, all the way he rode. It appears from the accounts that the Earl of Rutland went to Worksop on the 20th April, 1603, to meet the King, and on the 25th of the same month he accompanied the King to London. Nichols, in his *History of Leicestershire*, says that James stayed but one day at the Castle, and from thence to Burleigh, where he stayed three days. It seems, therefore, that the Earl of Rutland joined the King at Burleigh on the 25th, and attended him on his journey to London. James, with Henry, Prince of Wales, visited Belvoir for the second time on the 7th of August, 1612, but this visit was of short duration, as he was entertained by the Earl of Rutland in London on Sunday, 9th August, where probably the Earl of Rutland accompanied him from Belvoir. The King visited Belvoir again in 1614, and apparently arrived there on the 29th July, and remained there until August. The fourth, and probably the last, occasion on which James was entertained at Belvoir was in August, 1621, accompanied by Charles, Prince of Wales, then in his twenty-first year.

It is related of King James "that he divided his time betwixt his standish, his bottel, and his hunding; the last had his fair weather, the two former his dull and cloudy." He was also very partial to cock-fighting; and indulged in this pastime twice a week.

King Charles visited Belvoir in July, 1634, and in August, 1636; and during the Civil Wars slept one night at Belvoir, 5th August, 1645, when the Castle was held by the royal forces under Sir Gervase Lucas.

EXTRACTS FROM THE HOUSEHOLD ACCOUNTS.

Entertainment of King James at Belvoir in April, 1603.

It'm in Aprill, paid to xi Cookes sente downe to
Belvoyre, for their charges—iiij*li*. xiiij*s*. viij*d*./
hire of their horses—viiij*li*. *vs.* ... xj*li*. xviiij*s*. iiij*d*.

Paied to Allen Wallis Cooke of London, and xj.
others for there paynes com'ynge to Belvoyre
to worke againste the Kinges com'ynge ... lx*li*. xj*s*. ii*x**d*.

Paied to M'r Warren, his man and diu'se other
bringinge tentes to his L. againste the Kinges
com'ynge to Belvoyre ... xxxviij*s*. vj*d*.

Paied to iiij bakers of Grantham heelpinge to
bake in the Backehowse xx*s*., and to John
Warner for fyve days carringe breade to the
Castell xij*d*. ... xxj*s*.

Paied to S'r Thomas Cave his man bringinge and
fetchinge plate to Belvoyre w'ch was bor-
rowed againste the Kynges comynge ... *vs*.

Paied to M'r John Warren of Marson for viij
wethers bought of hym againste the Kynges
com'ynge to Belvoyre at xiiij*s*. the peice ... cxij*s*.

Paied to M'r Akelande of Grantham for the lende
of iiij^{xxvi} dozen & halfe (86½ dozen) of Pewter
Vessell againste the Kinges com'ynge to
Belvoyre ... iiij*li*. vj*s*. vj*d*.

Paied to Sampson Scoffeyld of Wollisthorpe for
xiiij days to sett vpte Tentes and lattinge
downe agayne & makinge tente pynesagainste
the Kynges com'ynge to Belvoyre at iiij*d*.
the day... iiij*s*. vj*d*.

Paied to diu'se pore women of Bottesforthe for vj ^{xxvj} . (126) bottells of Russhes gotten againste the Kynges com'ynge to Belvoyre at ij ^d . the bottell	xxjs.
Paied the xx of Aprill to M ^r . Charles Hargill for the defrayinge of his L ^{pp} Charges goinge to meyte the Kynge at Worsope	xli.
Paied the xxv of Aprill to Charles Hargill to defraye his L ^{pp} charges goinge to London w th the Kynge	iiijxx (80£)
Paied to Richard Nicholls Rydinge to Meyte a carriage w ^{ch} browghte Tentes and other necessaries from London againste the Kynges comynge to Belvoyre	vjs. viij ^d .
I tm 12 Apr. 1603, Sugar bar, vj lo. w ^t 128 ^{lb} .— viij ^{li} . xs. viij ^d . / Sug ^r bar, ref. vj lo. w ^t 75 lb. —vj ^{li} . vs/ powder of Sug ^r 224 lb. xij ^{li} . ijs. viij ^d . / ij barrelle, ijs. viij ^d . / Raisons sol— (Raisins of the sun) 112 lb.—lxjs. / Allegantes a fraye—w ^t 91 lb.—xxxs. iiij ^d . / ij bages— viij ^d . / Pruynes—112 lb.—xxvijs. / ij. bages— viij ^d . / Currantes—168 lb.—iiij ^{li} . iijs. / pepp ^r 30 lb.—iiij ^{li} . xs. / L ^r mace (large mace)— iiij ^{li} —lijs. iiij ^d . / L ^r . Cynamon—iiij lb.— xxvjs. viij ^d . / L ^r . ginger—iiij lb.—vjs. / nut- meges—iiij lb.—xxiijs. / Cloves—iiij lb.— xxiijs. / Dates—vj lb.—xxiijs. / Almondes— xij lb.—xvjs. / Rice—xij lb.—vjs. / Olyues— iiij gall. and j bar—xijs. vjd. / Capres—j bar— xs. vjd. / Candy oyle—ij l ^r . bottles—xxvs. / Sampier—j bar—iijs. viij ^d . / pickle lymondès —vs. viij ^d . / pickle barberries—j bar—ixs. vjd. / Caperons—j bar—vijs. vjd. / Cocombres —j bar—vjs. viij ^d . Anchoves—j bar—vjs. iiij ^d . / pickle oysters—iiij bar—xs. / figes—vj ^{li} . ijs. vjd. / the hampre, straw, packthred, iij lockes and portage—xiijs. vjd. / sent to Belvoyre against the Kinges comyng	lvj ^{li} . ixs.
I tm , 23 April, geven to the K. wardrobe men at Belvoyre—xls. / to the groomes there—xs. / to the garde there—xls. / to the Trumpetters— xls.	vj ^{li} . xs.

1612. *Aug. Second Visit of King James, with Henry,
Prince of Wales.*

Expences at Belvoyre for the entertaynment of the Kinges
mai^{te} there wth the prince the preparation whereof did begin the
26th July 1612 and continued till the 7th of August then next

following w'ch was the day of the Kings coming, and there continued till moonday after being 6 whole meals in w'ch space was spent as followeth, viz. :—

Beeves—xv, whereof vij oxen. iiij steers, and iiij Heffers	...	...	...	xv
Muttons	...	...	...	cxvj
Lambs	...	...	...	xxx
Wheate	...	...	...	xxvj q'tes.
Rye	...	...	...	j qr. iiij st'r.
Beer	...	...	...	iiij ^{xx} xv hogs. (95)
Ale	...	...	...	iiij hogs.
Sacke	...	...	...	j hog.
Reinish wine	...	...	...	ij vessells
White wine...	...	...	...	j hog.
Clarett	...	...	...	vj hogs.
Venyger	...	...	...	j hog. di
Vergis	...	...	...	j hog. di
Fresh Acates (Victuals)	...	...	...	lx <i>li</i> .
Cookes and Laborers	...	...	...	xxiiij <i>li</i> .
Lightes	...	...	...	xx doz.
Oates	...	...	...	xv q'trs.
Pease	...	...	...	ij q'trs.
Barly	...	...	...	iiij st'r.
Rabittes	...	...	...	ccciij (304) cupple
Lordship Store—				
Lings	...	...	...	xxiiij
Haberdins (salted Cod)	...	...	...	xxxvj
Carps	...	...	...	xvij
Brems	...	...	...	xl
Tenches	...	...	...	xvj

Belvoyr, Expenses of Spice at the Kings being ther, viz. :—

Sugar	...	...	...	vj loves
Sugar powd.	...	...	...	cxiiij <i>li</i> .
Raysons Soll'	...	...	...	xl <i>li</i> .
Allegants	...	...	...	li <i>li</i> .
Corance	...	...	...	xl <i>li</i> .
Prewns	...	...	...	xx <i>li</i> .
Pep'	...	...	...	li <i>li</i> .
Mace	...	...	...	iiij <i>li</i> .
Ginger	...	...	...	xl <i>li</i> .
Synamon	...	...	...	iiij <i>li</i> .
Cloves	...	...	...	iiij <i>li</i> .
Nuttmeggs	...	...	...	ix <i>li</i> .
Dates	...	...	...	xl <i>li</i> .
Ryse	...	...	...	xx <i>li</i> .
Sugar Candy	...	...	...	j qr.
Almonds	...	...	...	xij <i>li</i> .

Oyle	...	...	...	j	barell
Caphers	...	...	...	ij	barrells
Olives	...	...	...	iiij	barrells
Cowcubers	...	...	...	ij	barrells
Sampher (Samphire)	...	...	...	ij	barrells
Bolbouys	...	...	...	x	
West far bacon (Westphalian)	...	...	...	x	gammon
Oysters and Anchovies	...	...	...	vj	barrells
Hartechoakes	...	...	...	vj	doz.
Dryed Neats tongues	...	...	...	ij	doz.
Quinces—j barr. cont.	...	...	...	ciiij	
Lard	...	...	...	cvj <i>li</i> .	
Oringes	...	...	...	ij	c.
Potato roots	...	...	...	xx	
Sturgion	...	...	...	ij	legges
Redd herringes	...	...	...	lx	
Waxe lights	...	...	...	c	
Musk Mellons	...	...	...	o	
Lemmons	...	...	...	lx	

*A Note of Presentes sent you' Lo : sp against ye Kinges Comm'ge and
being at Belvoir, viz. :*

			Rewardes.
ffrom Grimthorpe	...	j staggs	xxs.
ffrom Linkthorn	...	j staggs	xxs.
ffrom Mr. Chaworth	...	j kid	0
ffrom Lo : Lincoln—stag i	...	Bucks = ij	xx
ffrom ye King	...	j staggs	vjs.
ffrom S'r Phillip Teritts	...	Bucks ij	xxs.
ffrom S'r Wyllya' Wraye	...	Bucks ij	xxijs. vjd.
ffrom Lo : Willowby more	...	j staggs	xxs.
ffrom Mr. Sturly of Knath more	...	j staggs	xxs.
ffrom S'r Anthony Mildmar	...	ij Bucks	xxijs. vjd.
ffrom S'r Thomas Brudnell	...	j Buck	xs.
ffrom S'r Lewis Watson	...	j Buck	xs.
ffrom Lo : of Huntingtons	...	j staggs	} xls.
ffrom Lo : of Huntingtons more	...	ij Bucks	
ffrom Lo : Willowby of Knath more	...	ij Bucks	xxs.
ffrom S'r Xp'o Hotton	...	ij Bucks	xxvs.
ffrom Garadon p'ke	...	iiij bucks	} Lo : Store
ffrom Croxton p'ke	...	ij bucks	
Staggs	...	...	vij
Bucks...	...	...	xxv
Kid	...	...	j
ffrom S'r Peeter Lee on ffatt Oxe a Tame Staggs	}	...	v <i>li</i> .

			<i>P^{sentes}.</i>		<i>Rewar^{des}.</i>
ffrom S'r Tho : Grantham—					
Pewettes	...	...	xij		
Gulles...	...	...	iiij		
Brokettes	...	...	vj		
Churs...	...	...	xij		
Baninges	...	...	xviiij		
Stintes and grundes	...	...	3 doz. 6		vis. viiij <i>d</i> .
ffrom S'r Willyam Pellam—					
Snighates	...	...	ij		
Corlews	...	...	v		
Grey plovers	...	...	iiij		
Stints	...	...	iiij doz. vj		
Knots...	...	...	xviiij		
Banings	...	...	ij doz. iiij		
Grundes	...	...	iiij		
Broketts	...	...	iiij doz. xj		
Reves ...	...	...	ij		
More Chitts	...	...	xvi		
Dotterells	...	...	vj	...	vjs. viiij <i>d</i> .
ffrom S'r George Maners of					
Haddon	...	...	poots	...	iiij <i>s</i> .
ffrom S'r Willyam Armyne—					
Turkeys	...	...	x		
Chickings	...	...	x		
Swans...	...	...	ij		
Herns...	...	...	j		
Corlew	...	...	j		
Godwitts	...	...	iiij		
Cheeses	...	...	iiij	...	vs.
ffrom Mr. Wood of Lably					
	...	...	veale j	...	xij <i>d</i> .
ffrom S'r Edmund Bushe—					
Muttons	...	...	vj		
Lambs	...	...	iiij	...	vjs. viij
ffrom S'r Henry Pagnam—					
Muttons	...	...	vi		
Lambs	...	...	x	...	xxijs. vj <i>d</i> .
ffrom Lord Willowby of Knathe—					
Gulls ...	...	...	v		
Pewetts	...	...	vj		
Knots...	...	...	x		
Broketts	...	...	}	8 doz. vj	
Stints ...	...	...			
Churs ...	...	...			
Banings	...	...			
					...
ffrom S'r John Thorney—					
Mallards	...	...	viiij		
Teels ...	...	...	vij		
Salmonds	...	...	ij		
Herns...	...	...	iiij		
Pegions	...	...	4 doz. vj ...		xs.

from Mr. Markham of Sydebrooke—				Rewardest.
Pears ...	...	ij basketts...	vjs.	
from p'son Sharoke	...	Capons ij ...	xijd.	
from Mr. Blewett	...	Plombs ...	{xijd.	
		li.		
p'visions of fflowle	...	40		
for p'sents	...	19 8 6		
Rewards for ye Kings Hous-				
hold servants...	...	117 16 8		
for ye gard and footmen	...	16 13 4		
for ye ways of Lincoln	...	4 0 0	clvijli. xviijs. vjd.	
Charges of Cookes and laborers.				
Paid to ix London cookes for xvj dayes at 5s. the				
day for each man and xls. for ye charges of				
each man ...	...	...	liiijs.	
Paid to vj inferior cookes of London 16 days at				
2s. 6d. the day and their charges	...		xijli.	
Paid to a scallder from London 16 dayes at vs.				
the day and his charges—xls.	...	...	vjli.	
Rewardest to Cookes and the Kinges seruants.				
Payd to cuntry Cookes and laborers from sundry				
places ...	...	...	xxiiijli.	
Summe of rewards for the Kinges and Princes				
seruants w'th the charges of Cookes and				
laborers	...	...	ccxxxiiijli. xs.	
A banquet for the Kinges Princes and my Lords				
table w'th presentes for the Cookes	...	...	cxxli.	
The King at Belvo'r 3 dayes.				
Payd the xxiiijli. of Aug. 1612, for p'vicons of				
freashe acates boughte against ye Kinges				
Ma'ties cominge to Belvor, bought by the				
Caterrers: from ye second daye of Aug. to				
the xvth of the same	...	...	lixli. xvijjs.	
Payd the xth day of Aug. 1612, for sev'all				
sorrtes and pvc'ons of foule bought agaynst				
his Ma'ties Cominge to Bellvoyr	...	xijli. iijs. viijd.		
Payd the xjth of Aug. 1612, for sev'all sorrtes				
of fowle against his Ma'ties Coming	...	vli. xij. xjd.		
Payd the xjth daie of Aug. 1612, by Willi'm				
Suttle of Boston, for dyvers p'vic'ons of				
fowle, and of fysche, bought agaynste the				
Kinges Ma'ties cominge to Bellvoyr	...	xvli. viijs.		
Payd ye xjth of Aug. 1612, by Willi'am Suttle				
of Boston for sev'all sorrtes of fowle,				
agaynste ye Kinges Ma'ties Coming to				
Bellvoyr	...	vjli. xvijjs.		
Gyven the xth of Aug. 1612, to sev'all p'sonnes,				
that broughte p'sennts to his Ld'ppe, when				
ye Kinges Ma'tie was att Bellvoyre	...	xixli. viijs.		

The King entertained in London.

It'm paied to Mrs. Sawle: for all the banquetting stuff and sweetmeates served on Sunday, 9 Aug. 1612, At the Kinges: the Princes: and the Lordes tables and ells where; and for suckets¹ for the kytchin, w'th xxs. to her men and xs. for his Charges to London the kitchen being xvs. cxxij*li*. xixs.

Numerous other entries occur in the Accounts relating to this visit.

"And presently after, instead of *suckets*, twelve raw puddings. I speake not one word of drinke all this while, for indeed he is no drunkard; hee abhorres that swinish vice."

Taylor's Workes, 1630.

1614. Aug. Third visit of King James to Belvoir.

Expences there in August 1614, the King being there and feasted by my lord one meale and his Lo: shipp. keeping a table vj meales as followeth, vidz.

Beefes	...	...	...	...	v.
Muttons	...	...	...	...	xxij.
Rabbitts	...	...	...	vxx. and xij.	(112) Cupple.
Spice	...	...	...	...	xx <i>li</i> .
A Banquet	...	...	...	...	xl <i>li</i> .
Beer	...	...	...	...	xxxj. hog.

ffresh Acattes and other p'vic'ons for ye Kinge.

Payd in Aug. 1614 for dyvers p'vic'ons w'ch was boughte for the Kynges Comeinge to Belvoyre xliij*li*. xixs.

Payd in Aug. 1614, for p'rovic'ons of fowle and of fyshe boughte also for ye Kinges Coming to Belvoire xliiij*li*. xijs.

Rewardes to Cooke and other Laborrers given at Belvoire when ye King was there.

Gyven in Aug. 1614, to Cookes, for their laboure and paynes taken at Belvoyre when the Kinge was there xxvj*li*. viijs.

Delyverd to Peetter Crosland for my Lo'des rydeinge chardges, when his Lo:pe wenntte to meette the Kinge l*li*.

(other entries.)

¹ Sucket, a conserve, or sweetmeat.

1621. *Aug. The fourth and last visit of King James to Belvoir, with Charles, Prince of Wales.*

fowles for ye Kinges Comeinge

P'd the 29th of Julie 1621, to Jo : francklinge
Cateror for seu'all Kyndes of fowle ... xli. xiijs.

To ye Kinges and Princes Cookes

Given the 5th of August 1621, by Mr. Sexton by
my Lo'des Comand, to the Kinges and the
Prynces Cookes at Beluo'r when ye Kinge
was then there ... xli.

Given for p'sentes brought to Beluiore against the
Kinges Comeinge in Aug. 1621 ... vijl*i*. iijs.

Given in Rewardes to Cookes and other Laborro'res
at the Kinges being at Beluo'r ... xxxv*i*. js.

P'd the 10th of August 1621 to ye Carier of
Melton for ye bringing downe of 5 Boxes of
sweete meattes ... xxijs. viij*d*.

P'd Samuell Unwin the 22th of Sept. 1621. A
Bill of Chardges of p'vander att Warssoppe
when the Kinge was at Roughforthe for his
Lo: ps horses ... iij*li*. xv*s*.

P'd a bill of f'freshe Acattes, and other p'vic'ons
boughte against the Kinges Comeing to
Belvore ... xxiiij*li* viijs,

P'd another bill of the same, by John franckling,
Cateror ... xxxvii*li*. xvijs.

THE PRIORY.

According to Nichols, the Priory consisted of a tower, nave, side-aisles, and choir. On the north side were the cloisters, in the centie of which stood the Chapter House. On the south of the Presbytery was St. Nicholas' Chapel. In the angle between the south aisle and the choir was St. Osyth's Chapel. The chapels of St. Nicholas and St. Mary were built by William Heron, Prior from 1340 to 1361. No remains of the Priory now exist beyond some building materials, including a few worked stones, used, after the dissolution of the monasteries, in the erection of the Dove-cut, now standing on the site of the Priory; but during some recent excavations on the site of the Priory, the foundations, floors, etc., of what appears to have been the domestic part, a number of mediæval encaustic tiles in five designs were found, also the top stone of an old English

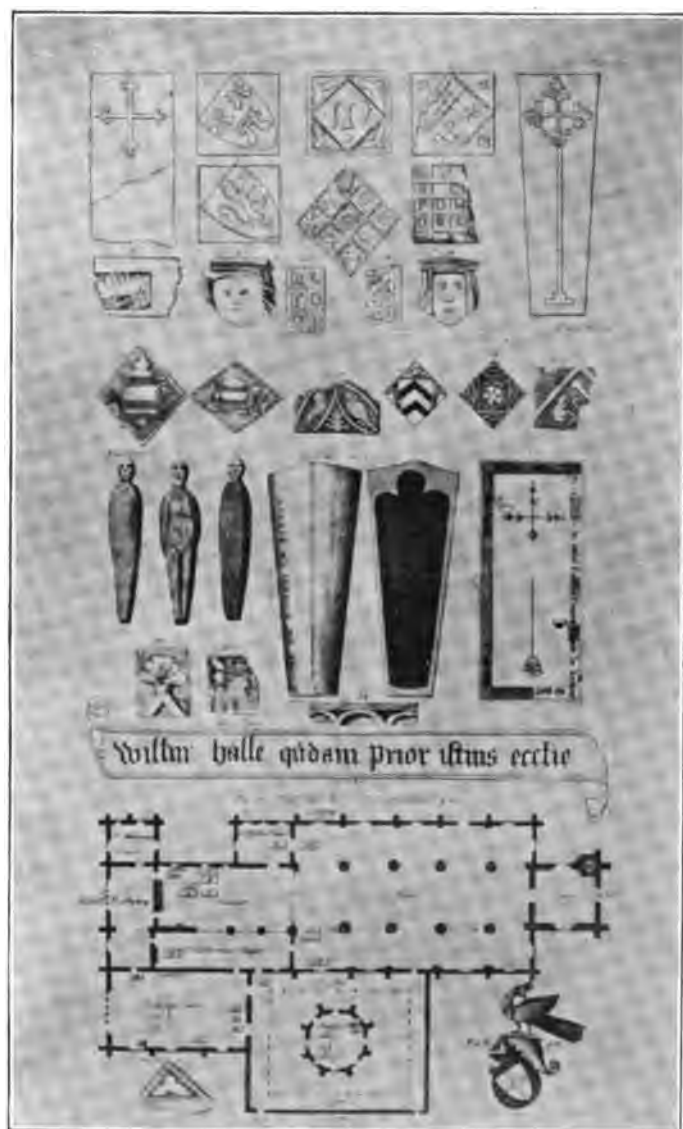
quern of millstone grit from Derbyshire, Celtic wheel-made pottery of the Roman period, the broad end of a Roman bronze stylus, a bason wrought in limestone, either a holy-water stoup or a domestic mortar, etc. These are preserved at the Castle.

The following information was obtained from a Register of the Priory of Belvoir, formerly in the possession of Thomas, Lord Brudenel.

NOTE.—The figures refer to corresponding figures on the accompanying Plate, reproduced from the original in Nichols' *History of Leicestershire*.

"In the Chapter House to the North were deposited : 1, Robert de Todenii the founder; and near him, 2, William Albini I, or Brito, before the door of the Chapter House ; 3, Symon de Rope-sley, and near him, 4, Oliver Deincourt on the South.

"In the old Church before the Cross, lay, 5, William de Albini II, or Meschines; and near him, 6, his wife, Adeliza, on the South; and, 7, his second wife, Cecily, under the wall of the old Church. Under the wall facing the high altar to the North, 8, the heart of William de Albini III, whose body was buried at Newstede, by Stamford; before the high altar, 9, William de Albini IV, whose heart was at Croxton; 10, the bowels of Robert de Ros, who died 14 Kal. June, 1285, and was buried at Kirkham, lay before the high altar at Belvoir, near the body of William de Albini IV. On the South, 11, in the west part near the Chapter House, Odinell de Albini; and near him, 12, Maud Umfraville, his mother; and near him to the North, 13, Albreda Biseth, his wife; between her and the wall of the Chapter House, 14, Richard de Staunton, rector of the said Church; 15, the bowels of Maud de Vaux, William's wife, lay in the wall of St. Mary's Chapel; 16, Maud, wife of James Ros, lay in the wall between this chapel and the Presbytery, sumptuously carved; 17, Roger de Gravelle, rector of Woolsthorp, under a south wall of the said Chapel; 18, Thomas Waute in the Cloister which separates the Chapels of St. Catherine and St. Mary. In the middle of St. Mary's Chapel, towards the steps, lies, 19, William de Belvoir, that worthy Prior; and near him, on the North, 20, William his brother and successor, and 21, Lambert, sub-prior. At the door of St. Osythes Chapel lies, 22, Roger, brother of the said Prior; and lower down, 23, his nephew; 24, Gilbert Suttere lay, at the end of the high altar of the Parish Church to the South; and, 25, his wife Margaret under the South window of the said Parish Church. The burial-place of William Hall is not mentioned in the Registers; nor 27, 28, 29, the memorials of three Priors unknown. Margaret, Lady Ros was buried at Belvoir, 1439."



BELVOIR PRIORY : PLAN AND MONUMENTS.

Nichols, in his *Leicestershire*, observes :—

“ From the foregoing list I am convinced that the Priory Church of Belvoir was the Parochial also. If these two Churches were not the same, the Parish Church was at least a part of the Priory Church. The repeated use of the old church would imply that the Parochial Church was made to serve the Priory, and was indeed the ‘ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ juxta Castellum,’ which Robert de Todeni had originally founded.”

Nichols, writing towards the end of the eighteenth century, says :—

“ Many of the antient lead coffins are still carefully preserved in two old vaults at Bottesford. Some of these, modelled as in Plate, Figs. 1, 2, 3, had an inscription upon a brass plate, soldered to the breast. The body of one was observed to be perfectly round, tapering from the shoulders to the feet; another was quite square, tapering in the same manner. A third (the middlemost) showed the belly, the knees, the calves of the legs, and particularly the feet standing up. The lead over the body seemed to fit very tightly, and over the head, face, and neck it also fitted very well, though the nose and cheeks might not be quite so protuberant as these figures may lead one to suppose; but it was partly fitted to the face, and the deficiency supplied in some measure by engravings for the eyes, mouth, ears, &c.

“ In digging among the ruins, May, 1791, were discovered some cornices and capitals of pillars, with several paving-tiles, stones, coats-of-arms, &c., as represented in Plate, Fig. 4-20, and Fig. 1-4.

“ In the Chapter House of the Priory, the coffin of Robert de Todeni, the founder, was dug up in 1726, and twice again, in 1792, when the founder’s skull was found in a perfect state of preservation, wanting only the under-jaw and the teeth of the upper. At the right hand lies a coffin of the same materials: this is that of William Albini I, or Brito.

“ From the site of the Lady Chapel many very large flat stones have been taken out, particularly two with crosses, represented in Plate, Figs. 23 and 24.

“ Prior William Halle, who succeeded in 1452, was also buried near his brethren, as is evident from a flat white stone, with an inscription on a scroll, Fig. 25.

“ At the head of Todeni and Brito, and in the same line, did lie a white stone, 7 ft. long by 3 ft. broad, with an inscription, in some parts worn out. The inscription on this stone implies the juxtaposition of Symon Ropesley and Oliver Deincourt.

“ The stone assigned to William de Heron answers to Dugdale’s description—that he lay in the middle of the Lady Chapel, near the

steps; near the Prior lay his brother, successor, and namesake, William de Stennington. This Prior built the Chapels of St. Mary and St. Nicholas, and planted 1,000 trees round the Priory, etc."

The following selection of benefactions to the Priory, translated from the originals in Latin, in the muniment room at Belvoir, etc., may be of interest:—

33 Hen. I (1132), Grant from Will. de Ros, lord of Hamlake, to the Priory of Belvoir, of a croft at Belvoir, lying between Peacock Croft and Long Croft, in exchange for two acres of meadow lying in Bever Warren, in a place called Redmildhaugh. Teste Johanne de Ros, Milite.

Grant by Robert de Thoteneia (Todeni) to God and the Church of St. Mary at Belvoir, and to the monks there serving God, for the welfare of his soul, and the souls of his father and mother, and all the rest of his friends; also the souls of all his predecessors, of thirty sticks of Eels, arising out of the rent of Eels for his Mill in Auburn (co. Linc.), which they shall receive yearly, at the feast of St. Matthew, and his brother Lord William de Albeneia¹ confirms this gift, &c. Witness, Geoffrey, the Clerk of Auburn, Will. de Albin, Roger. Bigot, Iwen de Chaveni, Helias de Albin, Geoffrey de Chaveni, Malger de Nicole, Aschetil Cocus, Will. Armiger, Geoffrey Janitor, Hugh fil Malger, Peter, his brother, Hervy fil. puer, Thom. fil. Ric., Hilger the Clerk, Walter de Flamstede.

Seal. An eagle displayed.

Be it known unto all men, both present and to come, that I, Luke de Crasmesnil, give, and by the impression of my seal, do confirm to the Church of St. Mary of Belvoir, and to the monks there serving God; the land which Yrsel de Crasmesnil, for the welfare of her soul, is known to have given to the said monks, in Denton, in perpetual alms; to be possessed free of all service. That is to say, the tenures and services of these seven men, whose names are: Ralph the Priest, Will. the Clerk, Ralph, fil. Ancha, Ailmarius fil. Levenot, Roger fil. Ancha, Coleman fil. Sitic, Ylfchetil fil. Ucha. Witnesses:—Martin, Presbyter of Denton, Reginald de Jarpunvilka, Geoffrey de Tiboltot, Ralph de Pentun, Will. Cocus, Will. Armiger, Ric. Clericus, Ric., Nephew of Brian, Hilger Clericus, Geoffrey Pistor, Hen. Juvenis.

Date apparently from 1130 to 1150.

Know all men, both present and future, that We Iwen de Albin², and Geoffrey de Chavenni, my brother, have given to the Church of St. Mary, of Belvoir, and to the monks there serving

¹ Will. de Albin I, died 1155. Temp. 1130 to 1150.

God, for the repose of our souls, and the souls of our uncle, Will. de Albini, and Will., his son, and the souls of all our parents and ancestors, the Church of Plungar, with all things appertaining to it, in free alms. We have offered this donation upon the altar of the Blessed Mary, standing in the Convent of St. Mary at Belvoir, before a certain Crozier. Witnesses: Will. de Albini, and Will. his son, Hugh fil. Margery, Will. Pincerna.

Seal. A full-length figure of Iwen de Albini, draped behind from head to foot, with a falcon perched on the wrist of the right hand. Undated, but probably Hen. I, or Stephen.

To all the sons of the Holy Mother Church, Ralph Brito sends greeting. Know you that I have given to God and the Church of St. Mary at Belvoir, and to the monks there serving God, a toft in Stakethurne, which is in my Lordship, near the water, for the welfare of my soul, and my wife's, and the souls of my father and mother, and my ancestors, in pure and perpetual alms, freely and quietly, and free from all secular service and exaction.

Witnesses:—Hugh Sacerdote, Roger de Snipton (Knipton), Walter de Knipton, John de Albini, Nigro, Walter de Herebi (Harby), Hugh, his son, Rob. de Hovis, Thurstan, Walter fil. Alvin, Simon, nephew of the Prior, Ric. Dispensar, Ric. fil. Will., Ralph Nobill, Simon fil. Alexander, Rob. de Caintwo.

Date, apparently Stephen.

William de Albini II endowed the Priory of Belvoir with certain lands; and in 1165, on the aid granted to Hen. I, for marrying his eldest daughter Maud to the Emperor, certified the King that he then held of him thirty-two knights' fees under the old feoffment, whereby he was enfeoffed in the time of Hen. I., and six and a-half, whereby he was enfeoffed since the beginning of Hen. II's reign. Of these fees, Ralph, his brother, held of him 15; Robert Poher, 5½; Simon de Roppesley, 3; Simon de Bosco Rahara (Borhard), 3; Ralph Cheinduit, one; William de Vaus, one; Ralph de Hotot, one; Ralph de Brandon, one; Aelard de St. Cere, two; Robert de Chaworth, one; Iwan de Albini, one; Geoffrey de Chaveni, one; Robert le Briton, one; Ralph le Briton, one; Elias de Albini, one; and Hugh de St. Vedars, one half.

Will. de Albini II. died 1168.

To all the faithful of Christ, to whom this present writing may come, William de Albyniaco, the third, sends greeting in the Lord. Know you all that, for the peace of my soul, also of my ancestors and successors, I have given and granted, and by this, my present Charter have confirmed to God, and the Church of St. Mary of Belvoir, and the monks there serving God, in pure and perpetual alms, the thorns and all other trees growing in the following place in my Warren of Belvoir. Namely, at Oggeberdeswell, descending as far as Granthamegathe, so far as the way

extends, and from the said Oggeberdeswell, as far as the path extends from the land of Gervase de Armhale, near Filpolsic. To have and to hold freely and quietly, without impediment, saving to me and my heirs, the hares, pheasants, and partridges. I truly the aforesaid William de Albyniaco the third and my heirs this donation and confirmation of this my present Charter to the aforesaid monks of Belvoir will warrant against all men for ever. To perpetuate this present grant and confirmation I have affixed my seal to this present writing.

Witnesses :—Lord Will. de Insula, Rob. de Albini, Ralph de Trihamton, Roger Bozon, Will. de Kaskinthorp, Thom. de Wynebys, Will. de Barkeston, Fulke de Hotot, Rob. de Hotot, Ralph de Berchedon, and many others.

Will. de Albini III died 6 May, 1236, at an advanced age.

(To be continued.)





Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 6th, 1901.

DR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library :—

- To the* Smithsonian Institution, for the "Annual Reports" of the National Museum for 1897 and 1899.
- „ Smithsonian Institution for "Annual Report," 1899.
 - „ Smithsonian Institution for the Bureau of Ethnology "Annual Reports," seventeenth and eighteenth.
 - „ Royal Institute of British Architects for "Journal," 1901, Parts 3 and 4, and Calendar, 1901-2.
 - „ Sussex Archæological Society for "Collections," vol. xlv, 1901.
 - „ Wiltshire Archæological Society for "Magazine," June, 1901, and "Wiltshire Inquisitions," Part viii, 1900.
 - „ Essex Archæological Society for "Transactions," vol. viii, Part II, 1901.
 - „ Cambrian Archæological Association for "Archæologia Cambrensis," vol. i, New Series, Parts 3 and 4, 1901.
 - „ Royal Archæological Institute for "Journal," June and September, 1901.
 - „ Royal Societies of Antiquaries of Ireland for "Journal," June and September, 1901.
 - „ Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society for "Transactions," vol. xxiii, Parts 1 and 2, 1901.
 - „ Société des Antiquaires de la Normandie for "Bulletin," vol. xxi, 1899.
 - „ East Herts Archæological Society for "Transactions," vol. i, Part I, 1901.

The following members were duly elected :—

Thos. Hodgkin, Esq., D.O.L., F.S.A., President, Barmoor Castle, Beal, Northumberland.

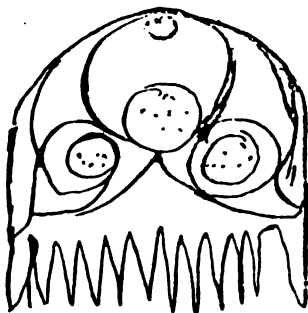
Rev. Edward R. Parr, The Vicarage, Chertsey.

A. R. Goddard, Esq., B.A., 2, Cornwall Road, Bedford.

Alf. Denton Cheney, Esq., Lympne, Hythe, Kent.

Miss Winstone, 53, Russell Square, W.C.

Mr. John Bruce, F.S.A.Scot., exhibited many of the "finds" from the new crannog which he has recently discovered on the south side of the Clyde, at Langbank, opposite Dumbarton. The majority are of the usual type, the most curious and interesting being a small bone comb, with special ornamentations of Late-Celtic style on one side. He also exhibited the stone implement from Dumbuck inserted in a bone handle, which has been called a "knife," but which is more probably a "skin-scraper;" this he discovered himself, and vouched for its genuineness, as he did for all the other much-controverted "finds" from this crannog.



Small Bone Comb found at the Langbank Crannog, on the Clyde.

Full size. The ornamentation is lightly incised on the comb, or scratched. (See p. 80, Munro's *Prehistoric Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1899, W. Blackwood and Sons.)

In the course of the discussion which followed, the Rev. H. D. Astley thanked Mr. Bruce for his kindness in bringing so many of his "finds" at the new Langbank crannog, together with careful plans and drawings, for exhibition at the opening meeting of the Association for the Session of 1901-2. He drew attention to the fact that the majority of the implements, and the manner in which the antlers and bones of red deer and other animals were cut, were of clearly Neolithic type; while the ornamentation on the little comb, the finding of which has been already recorded, is as clearly Late-Celtic. In connection with this, he went on to point out a confusion in the use of the term "Neolithic." As employed by some anthropologists, it designates a

particular "age," bounded by definite dates, which may have come to an end in Western Europe somewhere between 1500 and 1000 B.C. In this sense none of the Clydeside discoveries are "Neolithic."

But the more correct use of the term is to designate a particular "stage of culture" in the evolution of the human race, and in this sense the "Neolithic stage of culture" still exists; *e.g.*, among the native races of Australia, and many other savage peoples in all parts of the world.

In this sense, therefore, it is perfectly justifiable to say that the Clydeside discoveries are the work of a people in the "Neolithic stage of culture," and at the same time to suggest, from various indications afforded, that they are due to the Pictish inhabitants of that part of Scotland at a time not far removed from the date of the Roman occupation, before or after.

Mr. Gould, in the course of some interesting remarks, pointed out that more than one of the implements on the table were as clearly of Palæolithic type as the majority were Neolithic. This might be due to carelessness on the part of the primitive artificer, or to a "survival" of type.

Mr. Bruce mentioned that the excavations at Langbank were now suspended until the spring, but in due course a full report of the results would be presented to the Glasgow Archæological Society.

Mr. C. H. Compton exhibited two copies of the Court Roll of the Manor of Stoke Newington. One, dated May 18th, 13 Geo. I, 1727, being an admission of Mary Lascelles to a messuage, is in Latin, and ends "*fecitque fidelitatem.*" The other, dated July 9th, 1740, is an admission of Mary Ingram to a moiety of certain hereditaments held of the same manor; it is in English, and ends "but her fealty was respited." This is the usual form in copyhold admissions since that date.

Mr. Compton then read the following:—

NOTES ON THE SITES OF ST. MARGARET'S AND ALL SAINTS'
CHURCHES, LEICESTER.

In the concluding report of our Congress at Leicester last year, in the *Journal* for last June, p. 157 of the present volume, it is stated that the present Church of St. Margaret, Leicester, was founded by Robert Bossu, second Earl of Leicester; and that All Saints' Church was also founded by him in 1199. These statements conflict with those relating to this subject in the paper on the Abbey of St. Mary de Pratis in the same number, p. 93 *et seq.* The facts are, that St. Margaret's Church was a prebend of Lincoln Cathedral, and was specially exempted from the grant of the Churches of Leicester by Robert,

Count de Mellent, the father of Robert Bossu, when he rebuilt the Church of St. Mary de Castro, and founded a Society of Secular Canons, to whom he gave the other churches of Leicester; and Robert Bossu only transferred the endowments of St. Mary de Castro to the Abbey of St. Mary de Pratis on his founding it as a monastery of Regular Canons in 1143.

The Church of All Saints was one of the churches particularly confirmed by Robert de Mellent to the Secular Canons of St. Mary de Castro; and on the foundation by Robert Bossu of St. Mary de Pratis, he transferred this Church with the other endowments of the Secular Canons to the Regular Canons of St. Mary de Pratis.

The date of Robert Bossu's death is variously given 1167-68-69,¹ but certainly not later than the last of those years; he could not, therefore, have founded, or even rebuilt, All Saints' Church in 1199.

Mr. Compton also read the following:—

NOTES ON THE PARISH REGISTERS OF ALDINGBOURNE CHURCH,
SUSSEX.

In the course of my recent vacation rambles I visited the Parish Church of Aldingbourne, four miles east of Chichester, and inspected the Parish Registers, which are in a very good state of preservation. They commence with the year 1558. The earliest book contains entries of births, marriages and deaths, down to 1778, and are in Latin till 1635, when there is an entry that Daniel Thompson, Clerk, B.A. in Pembroke, Cambridge, was inducted. After this, the entries are in English till 1637, and thereafter in Latin.

This book is bound in vellum, recently. The first marriage was 30 October, 1558, and the first burial 30 Martii, 1558.

The Chalice and Paten, the latter forming a cover to the Chalice, are of silver, the Paten bearing the date 1558.

Mr. Compton then read a paper on "The President and Council of the North," which was followed by an interesting discussion, and will be published.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 20TH, 1901.

DR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Michael Ferrar, Esq., of Little Gidding, Ealing, was unanimously elected to a seat on the Council.

¹ Our Editorial Secretary, in his Notes on the Leicester Congress, puts the date of Bossu's death 1167-9. See *Journal* of the British Archaeological Association, vol. vi, N. S., p. 361.

At the Council Meeting previously, Dr. Birch was unanimously elected Hon. Treasurer of the Association, in succession to Mr. C. Lynam, resigned.

The Rev. R. I. Woodhouse exhibited an iron vessel, shaped like a cream jug, weighing 6 lb. 10 ozs., bearing evidences of a hinge at one time existing, which was found at Merstham, in Surrey, not a great distance from the neighbourhood of the Sussex ironworks, at which it may have been made. He suggested that it may have been intended for pouring in molten lead. He also exhibited a clay or terra-cotta money-box, considered by Mr. Gould and others to be early seventeenth-century work.

Miss Dobson brought for exhibition some brass and bronze coins, the finest being a brass of Lucilla, daughter of Marcus Aurelius, 147 A.D. Others were coins of Probus, Tetricus, and Galienus.

Mr. Patrick, Hon. Secretary, made an exhibition on behalf of Mr. C. Lynam, and read some notes he had prepared, in description of a fine series of photographs of the recent excavations and discoveries at Arbor Low, in Derbyshire.

Mr. Andrew Oliver showed some curiosities from Russia, including a brass "icon," in three compartments, a brass figure of St. Michael, with an inscription in Greek at the back, and a plaque of mother-of-pearl, engraved with the "Nailing to the Cross."

Mr. Thomas Fisher exhibited a large stone, of which he gave the following description :—

This stone (porphyry) was recently unearthed in Threadneedle Street, E.C., 20 ft. below the surface. It is supposed by Dr. Kingdon that it may have formed part of the old Walbrook Bridge. Another suggestion is that it was a pebble from the Thames foreshore, as there are traces of limpets on it.

Among various suggestions made at the Meeting as to its origin, one was that it might have formed part of the ballast of a vessel from the east coast of Scotland, where porphyry is indigenous.

The Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley exhibited two photographs, sent by Mr. Garside, of Stockport, illustrative of some "finds" made during recent excavations at Rowarth, in Derbyshire. The locality where the "finds" were made is locally known as "The Ringstones," and this tradition points to the possibility of there having been at one time a Stone Circle there, but of this there is now no trace. One photograph shows a very fine example of a Stone Celt, of the usual type, in excellent condition; the other represents an object bearing some likeness to a stone seat, to which the name of the "Druid's Chair" has

been given ; but it appears more probable that it is nothing more than a portion broken off a drinking-trough for cattle.

Mr. Astley also read a letter he had received from Lady Algernon Gordon Lennox describing some interesting discoveries recently made at Broughton Castle, Banbury. These consist of "traces of what must have been four magnificent early fourteenth-century windows, one of which has the remains of the tracery in it, which must have lighted the hall, and reached to within 3 ft. or 4 ft. of the floor ; besides these there are six doorways, most of them in a perfect condition, with the hinges still in position." Windows and doorways alike were all concealed by a thick covering of plaster.

On behalf of Mr. W. J. Andrew, of Whaley Bridge, Mr. Astley also exhibited a very fine example of a cinerary urn, still containing cremated ashes, which is thus described in the

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum,

Vol. vi, Pt. III.

Inscriptiones urbis Romæ Latinæ. No. 22,698.

"Urna cineraria visc ; In hortis Iustinianis PTOL. ; *Gallerie Giustiniani* SEG.—Apud equitem Piranesium MAR.—Roma exportandam curavit d'Este sculptor an. 1791 visc.

L . MVNIVS . PPRISCVS (sic)

ALLIAE PRISCAE FILIVS

ARTEMÆ . NEPOS

Ptolemaeus sched. I, 97 (inde Mur. 1714, 7) ; Seguiet Paris, f. 99 ; Marini sched. Vat ; E. Q. Visconti in schedis servatis apud Petrum Herculem nepotem.

Lin. 1 sic Ptol., pro priore P exhibent L. Seq., L. F. Mar. Visc ; errore quadratarum littera P bis posita esse videtur.—3 ARTEMÆ visc."

(The first line clearly reads : L . MUNIVS . L . F. PRISCUS, as stated by Marini and Visconti.)

According to the accepted and correct reading, the father, mother and aunt of Lucius Munius Priscus are mentioned. Mr. Andrew suggested that, as the inscription appears to be late, L. Munius Priscus may have been a man of some rank, and that was why d'Esté "removed" him. Can he have been a relative, on the female side, of PRISCUS ATTALUS, who was proclaimed Emperor of Rome by Alaric in A.D. 409, and died in exile ? And could Alaric be the father of Allia ?

The names "Munia" and "Attica" occur in Insc. 22,702 and 22,704.

No. 22,702 has

avis
MVNIA

avis
ATTICE

Descripti. Fr. Vellori in litteris Gorio missis, in quibus nota diei interiit, cod. Marncell A 63 (inde Gori monum Liviae, pp. 177 and CLXVII), etc.

No. 22,704

D . M .

MVNIAE MODESTINAE . VIRGINI

INNOCENTISSIME . QVAE . VIXIT . ANN . XIII

M . VII . D . III . MVNIVS . MODESTINVS ET

MESSIA . FLACCINA . PARENTES

CONTRA VOTVM . FILIAE

DVLCISSIMAE

MEMORIAM . A . FVNDAVENTIS . FECER

ET . LIBERTIS . LIBERTABVSQ . POSTERIS Q.

EORVM .

Mr. Astley drew attention to the fact of the *aunt* and *mother* being mentioned as well as the father; and referring to a number of inscriptions from Britain containing similar statements, asked whether we might take this as being an example of the late survival of the custom of *mütterrecht*, which is connected with primitive totemism? The British examples, chiefly of Caledonians and Picts, are thus explained by Prof Rhys in his book on *The Welsh People*. In any case, it is interesting to find such prominence given to the female relatives in a Roman inscription, and it was for this reason chiefly that Mr. Andrew had sent the urn for exhibition. The Chairman thought it rather probable that L. Munius Priscus was a freedman, whose mother and aunt were of higher social rank than his father, and that he may have been the heir of his aunt, who was perhaps a person possessed of some property. The urn had probably found its place originally in a columbarium.

The Paper of the evening was by Dr. Plowright, of King's Lynn, and was read in his absence by Mr. Astley. It dealt exhaustively with the archæology of woad, from the earliest times down to the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was well illustrated by drawings and photographs of woad mills and implements connected with its manufacture, both in this and other European countries, and copious references to the chief books on the subject.

In the discussion which followed the Paper, Mr. Forster, Mr. Gould Mr. C. J. Williams, and others took part; the Chairman remarked that woad was at first called "glastum" or "glast"—Glastonbury, or with the Saxons Glastingbury, having a reference to it; and at Bridgewater, in Somersetshire, there used to be a large trade carried on in woad.

It is hoped this Paper will be published in a future number of the *Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 4TH, 1901.

DR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The following Members were duly elected :—

Rev. R. T. Woodhouse, Merstham Rectory, Redhill, Surrey.

E. A. Webb, Esq., Cookham Dene, Chislehurst.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the Library :—

To the Société Archéologique de Bruxelles for "Bulletin," Part II, 1901.

„ *Stockholm Society of Antiquaries* for "Proceedings," 1897-1899.

A Paper, which will be published, was read by Mr. A. R. Goddard on "The Underground Strong Room at Richborough, Kent."

An interesting discussion followed, in which the Chairman, Mr. Mill-Stephenson, Mr. Gould, Mr. Compton, and others took part.





Antiquarian Intelligence.

Oliver Cromwell.¹—One of the strongest evidences of the fascination which the conflict of first principles exercises over the human mind may be found in the perennial interest which an account of the great struggle in England in the seventeenth century never fails to evoke. The fact that no less than four such accounts have been published during the last twelve months, and that they bear upon their title-pages the names of such writers as Mr. John Morley, the philosophic historian, Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, the hero of the Roughriders of Cuba, and now, through the vile stroke of the assassin, President of the United States of America, Dr. S. R. Gardiner, the close-reasoning investigator of all that concerns the history of the seventeenth century, and Mr. Charles Firth, the able writer of Cromwell's life in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, is sufficient proof that a lively and increasing interest is taken in the subject by cultured Englishmen and Americans; and, it may be, that this interest is enhanced by the circumstance that the same historic fight is being practically waged at this moment on the battlegrounds of South Africa—the fight between tyranny and freedom, between the upholders of the right of freemen to be self-governing citizens of a well-ordered state, and those who would make men the subjects of a mere arbitrary rule.

We propose to consider each of these accounts in turn. With the main facts of Oliver Cromwell's life, and the salient points in the great struggle, we will assume that our readers are familiar.

The story of the development of the farmer, or—as his humbler neighbours loved to call him, the lord—of the Fens, into one of the greatest military geniuses that any age or country has produced, and that finally seated him, in all but name, upon the historic throne of

¹ *Oliver Cromwell*, by the Right Hon. JOHN MORLEY, M.P., D.C.L., LL.D. (London: Macmillan & Co. 10s. net.)

Oliver Cromwell, by THEODORE ROOSEVELT. Illustrated. (Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co. 10s. 6d. net.)

Oliver Cromwell, by SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER, M.A. D.C.L., LL.D., Ph.D., &c. With Frontispiece. (London: Longmans, Green & Co. 5s.)

Oliver Cromwell and the Rule of the Puritans in England, by CHARLES FIRTH, M.A. Illustrated. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 5s.)

Britain, is of surpassing interest ; and, as we turn the pages of these four notable volumes, we can see the picture growing before our eyes, and are enabled, in no small measure, to discern for ourselves the hidden sources of the greatness of the man, of whom it was truly said, "A larger soul hath seldom dwelt in a house of clay."

To take, first, Mr. John Morley's *Oliver Cromwell*. In this study we have, as might be expected, a reasoned philosophic dissertation, the style limpid and clear as a pellucid stream, full of that "lucidity" which Matthew Arnold praised as the special quality of the French language, and which might be looked for in the biographer of Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and others of the great French writers of the eighteenth century. Mr. Morley is not content with bare facts ; he must view them in their correlation with one another, and he must dive below the surface to seek their hidden sources and origins. He is, in himself, the exemplification of that "historic sense" of which he writes : "It has been truly said that its rise indicates a revolution as great as any produced by the modern discoveries of physical science. It is not, for instance, easy for us, who are vain of living in an age of reason, to enter into the mind of a mystic of the seventeenth century. Yet, by virtue of that sense, even those who have moved furthest away in belief and faith from the books and symbols that lighted the inmost soul of Oliver, should still be able to do justice to his free and spacious genius, his high heart, his singleness of mind." Throughout his book Mr. Morley keeps true to his text ; and one can only regret that he should have ever been tempted to relinquish the quiet glades of literature for the thorny ways of contemporary politics ; and wonder whether, if he stood at the same distance from the events of to-day that he does from those that he is chronicling here, he would not take the same calm, dispassionate, abstracted view which the exigencies of public life make impossible for him now. In the opening sentences the author shows us at once, at what an immeasurable distance we stand from the old one-sided unhistoric judgment of the actors in the mighty tragedy of the Civil War, which was presented to us, as the heritage of the Restoration writers, even in the days of our youth : in which all who fought and died on the King's side, including the King himself, were represented as heroes and martyrs, all who were on the side of the Parliament were hair-brained enthusiasts, hypocrites, and rebels ; while in the first revulsion from these views, Carlyle and Macaulay went just as far wrong, from an historical point of view, in the other direction. Human nature is wonderfully complex, and absolute right is found in no one set of men, or even of principles, anywhere on earth. "Of the earth, earthy," must be written on all alike

Mr. Morley's sketch of the conflict of the principles involved in the rival systems of Calvinism and Arminianism, of Anglicanism and Dissent, which preceded the conflict between the adherents of these antagonistic opinions, is a masterpiece, as is also his series of portraits of the various actors in the scene. Charles himself, and Cromwell, Strafford and Laud, Pym and Hampden and Elliot, and the host of names that throng the memory as one thinks of the period, each and all have full justice done them, and stand out for ever on the page of history. We are especially glad to be able to say this of Laud, for whom one might have looked for scantier justice at the hands of one so far removed from his standpoint as Mr. Morley. Charles I, with his æsthetic temperament, his love for the arts, his real honesty of motive from his own point of view, but withal his weakness of will in dealing with the problems of the time, which is the secret of all his tergiversation and deceit—in a word, the idealist, the Hamlet of the seventeenth century—is well balanced by the figure of Cromwell: stern, practical, full of common sense, caring nought for “baubles,” but seeing clearly what he means to have, and going straight ahead for it. The only thing that Cromwell did not see was whither he himself was being led, and where he would find himself at the end of the troubles. Doubtless he was ambitious, but it was for the cause of God and of “His poor oppressed people,” as he understood it, and it was an honest ambition. Nothing is clearer than that Cromwell's rise was unexpected and almost unwished by himself. “Sir,” he said to the French Ambassador, “no man rises so high, as he who knows not whither he is going.” Cromwell was no hypocrite; the cause of God must prevail, and the best man must come to the top, and if he is the best man—well, then, he will take, and he will hold, the highest place. All this is plainly unfolded by Mr. Morley in his description of Cromwell's negotiations with his Presbyterian opponents in Parliament; in the circumstances that led to the forming of the new model army; and to his continuance in command after the Self-denying Ordinance, which included all other members of either House, was passed; in his negotiations with Charles after Naseby; and in all his dealings with his own Parliaments after he was proclaimed Protector for the first and second time.

It was the very irony of history, but it was inevitable, that Cromwell was compelled to treat his Parliaments exactly as Charles himself had dealt with each of his, until the Long Parliament met!

The secret of Cromwell's rise is to be found in the fact, as Mr. Morley points out, that from the first he saw that the decisive arm in the war would be cavalry, and that he set himself deliberately to

perfect that arm, in which the Parliamentary forces were at first very deficient, until it became a match, and more than a match, for the cavalry of the Cavaliers. This may be seen in his often-quoted remarks to Hampden: "'Your troops,' said I, 'are most of them old decayed serving-men, and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and their troops are gentlemen's sons, and persons of quality. Do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen, that have honor and courage and resolution in them? You must get men of a spirit, and of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go, or else, I am sure, you will be beaten still.'" Hampden thought the notion good but impracticable—"Impracticable" was a word as unknown to Cromwell as "impossible" to Napoleon. He goes on: "I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, and made some conscience of what they did, and from that day forward they were never beaten." This is the simple truth. Commencing with his troop of sixty men, raised from the Eastern Association, and going on till he had a thousand picked men under him, Cromwell's regiment of Ironsides was the rock against which the warriors of Charles beat in vain. Prince Rupert was Cromwell's only great opponent in the field; but, whereas the impetuous Prince never learnt how to keep his men in hand, and rally them after the charge, and bring them back to the support of the sorely-pressed infantry in the centre, Cromwell never let his men go. First, at Marston Moor, and afterwards on many a stricken field—at Naseby, at Dunbar, at Worcester, after the charge and rout of the cavalry opposed to him—Cromwell gathered his men together, and returned to decide the fortunes of the day, by that attack on flank and rear which snatched the fruits of victory out of the very jaws of defeat.

We must not dwell on Mr. Morley's most true remarks upon the undoubted blot on Cromwell's character of the massacres at Drogheda and Wexford in the course of his Irish campaign, and of the disastrous results of the "Cromwellian settlement" of Ireland. Nor can we further pursue the history of the Commonwealth and Protectorate. Cromwell failed, in spite of seemingly unexampled success, just because he was so great. There was no one after him to take his place; but the principles for which he fought lived on, and reappeared after apparent eclipse. England to-day enjoys to the full the blessings of that toleration which Cromwell praised, but which even he was never strong enough to put in practice, because it was too far in advance of the spirit of the age; and she enjoys it as the outcome of those principles for which Cromwell lived, and fought, and died. As Mr. Morley truly says: "The greatest names in history are those who,

in a full career, and amid the turbid extremities of political action, have yet touched closest and at most points the wide ever-standing problems of the world, and the things in which man's interest never dies. Of this far-shining company Cromwell was surely one." In parting from this book, we cannot hesitate to express our meed of thanks to the author; and would only add that he would possibly have made it even a better book than it is, if he had left a little more to the imagination of the reader, and allowed him, rather more than he has done, to form his own judgment on men and things.

Mr. Roosevelt's book transports us into quite a different atmosphere from that we have been breathing hitherto. We have no longer to deal with the calm and unemotional philosopher, but instead we seem to breathe the breezy air of the prairies, and we feel also that we have to do with a man who has himself taken part in the stern arbitrament of war.

The author points out truly that in Cromwell we behold a man who was ahead of his age—that so far from Carlyle's verdict being correct that the "Puritanism of the Cromwellian epoch was the last glimpse of the Godlike vanishing from England; conviction and veracity giving place to hollow cant and formalism . . . the last of all our Heroisms"—the epoch of the Puritans was the beginning of the great modern epoch of the English-speaking world; and that the whole history of the movement which resulted in the establishment of the Commonwealth in England will be misread and misunderstood, if we fail to appreciate that it was the first modern and not the last mediæval movement, strictly akin to the men and principles that have appeared in all similar great movements since: in the English Revolution of 1688; in the American Revolution of 1776; and the American Civil War of 1861.

This is Mr. Roosevelt's text, and through all the stirring scenes of battle, and the more sordid conflicts of hot-headed partizans in and out of Parliament, he keeps it steadily in view. That which makes this book all the more interesting to an Englishman is the circumstance that we are enabled to see the events of the time here through the eyes of a cultivated American; and throughout the book Mr. Roosevelt is perpetually drawing attention to the parallels or contrasts to be found in the course of American history, particularly in the events of the Revolution and the Civil War. Cromwell as the apostle of toleration is his hero. He quotes with unmeasured approbation Cromwell's letter to the Parliament after the storm of Bristol: "Presbyterians, Independants, all have here the same spirit of faith and prayer; the same presence and answer; they agree here; have no

means of difference ; pity it is that it should be otherwise anywhere ; and for brethren in things of the mind we look for no compulsion but that of light and reason." He only blames him that he did not go far enough, and apply his principles to Anglicans and Roman Catholics also ; and, further, that, when the supreme power fell into his hands, he preferred to become the dictator of a military government to exercising the self-effacement and moderation which led Washington and Lincoln in after days, and under other circumstances, to lay the foundations of a stable Republic. But he owns that Cromwell, surrounded as he was by men to whom the very name of toleration for any but their own opinions, whether in religion or politics, was abhorrent, could hardly have acted otherwise than he did, and he remains his hero in spite of all.

It was hardly to be expected, perhaps, that Mr. Roosevelt should do justice to Charles and his advisers. Their standpoint is too far removed from his manly independence of mind, and his sturdy opposition to any authority that rests on compulsion. But in describing Laud as "a small and narrow man, and a bitter persecutor, whose tyranny was of that fussy kind which without striking terror, often irritates nearly to madness," he shows that he has still something himself to learn of that spirit of toleration whose praises he so loudly sings, when it is to be applied to those who believe in the unity and continuity of the Catholic Church, and whose religion is helped by the decent observance of the forms and ceremonies of worship.

In spite of his feeling that Cromwell would have done better if he had been strong enough to avoid personal rule, his verdict is that "on the whole, England and Scotland fared well under Oliver ;" but that, on the other hand, Ireland fared badly ; and with this verdict we cannot disagree. In England, Cromwell stood for religious liberty, as far as he was able ; his Irish policy was, perhaps inevitably, one of bitter oppression ; but, as a set-off to this, he made England respected abroad as she had not been since the days of Elizabeth, nor was for long afterwards.

Altogether this is a delightful and an exhilarating book, which no one who desires to see how Cromwell and the England of his day appears to the most progressive of Americans, should fail to peruse. The course of the war is specially well described, and the battle scenes exhibit the touch of the master-hand of one who has himself faced death on the field.

Dr. Gardiner's book gives, as the author says, "within a short compass a history of Oliver Cromwell from a biographical point of view. Commencing with the account of his early life, and dealing

with each event in turn as it tends to mark the growth of his mind and character, we have here unfolded by a series of masterly touches, the finished portrait of Cromwell: the lineaments well defined; his greatness and his littleness; his strength and his weakness; the fine features and the blotches that marred them, all are brought out with the firm and unerring stroke of the master. Here we see Cromwell as the Opportunist, over and over again allowing himself to be led by circumstances, instead of boldly acting as the master of his fate, and bending circumstances to his will. This is seen in his behaviour during the squabbles between the Presbyterians and Independants in Parliament, which led to the formation of the new model army; it is seen in his negotiations with the King, which nearly wrecked his standing with both parties; in his conduct during the proceedings which led to the King's trial and death; in his negotiations with David Leslie prior to the battle of Dunbar, when—fortunately for him—the folly of his enemies cut the Gordian knot and threw the victory into his hands; and lastly, in his continued efforts to combine military rule with Parliamentary forms after he became Protector. More than once in the course of his career, a deep disgust with things as they were, and with the men with whom he had to deal, tempted him almost to throw up the sponge, and take ship either over sea to the New England Colonies, or even to take up arms on behalf of the Protestant cause in Germany. But through it all we see the underlying purpose to do God's work, and to help forward the triumph of "His poor afflicted people."

In a fine passage, describing the motives which led to Cromwell's consenting to the death of the King, Dr. Gardiner lets us see these conflicting elements in his character.

"The situation, complicated enough already, had been still further complicated by Charles's duplicity. Men who would have been willing to come to terms with him despaired of any constitutional arrangement in which he was to be a factor, and men who had been long alienated from him were irritated into active hostility. To remove him out of the way appeared to be the only possible road to peace for the troubled nation. Of this latter class Cromwell made himself the mouthpiece. *Himself a man of compromises*, he had been thrust, sorely against his will, into direct antagonism with the uncompromising King. He had striven long to mediate between the old order and the new. Failing in this, Cromwell finally allied himself with those who cried out most loudly for the King's blood."

And Dr. Gardiner's final verdict is: "The man—it is ever so with the noblest—was greater than his work. In his own heart lay the

resolution to subordinate self to public ends, and to subordinate material to moral and spiritual objects of desire. He was limited by the defects which make imperfect the character and intellect even of the noblest and wisest of mankind. He was limited still more by the unwillingness of his contemporaries to mould themselves after his ideas. The living forces of England—forces making for the destruction of those barriers which he was himself breaking through, buoyed him up. As a strong and self-confident swimmer, he was carried onward by the flowing tide." With this verdict all will agree.

Mr. Firth's book forms one of the series of the "Heroes of the Nations," and is largely based upon his article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but all students of the period will be glad to have it in this more accessible form. Its subject is defined by the sub-title, "The Rule of the Puritans in England." We have not to do here so much with Cromwell, the man, as with the development of his career in the triumph of those Puritan principles which he embodied and enforced.

Incidentally Mr. Frith points out that his success as a Cavalry leader was largely due to the fruits of study during the quiet years at St. Ives and Ely. The tremendous struggle known as the Thirty Years' War was then being fought out, and "some of the best accounts of the battles and mode of fighting of Gustavus Adolphus were published in England; and between 1630 and 1640 few books were more popular than *The Swedish Intelligencer* and *The Swedish Soldier*. It cannot be doubted that Cromwell read these narratives, and absorbed from them that knowledge of military principles and military tactics which supplied for him the place of personal experience." There is no doubt that he was a military genius, and that that genius was equal to every duty which fate imposed upon him. Cromwell, like Gustavus, was the organiser of the army he led to victory; and, like him, an innovator in war—Gustavus in tactics, Cromwell in strategy. This book is specially distinguished for its clear account of the various battles of the Civil War, of which there are many good plans. There are also many fine portraits and illustrations, and a good index. Mr. Morley's book also has a good index, but in this Dr. Gardiner is deficient. Mr. Roosevelt's book is particularly well produced: the type is large and clear, there are numbers of beautiful illustrations and portraits, and the index is unusually full and easy of reference.

We heartily recommend each of these books, for each is indispensable to a full understanding of Cromwell and his times from the standpoint of the most modern research; but each of our readers, if he cannot procure all, must choose the one most suited to his own tastes.

Mr. Morley is for the scholar ; President Roosevelt for the man of action ; Dr. Gardiner for the student, and Mr. Firth for the intelligent reader.

An Account of the Remains of a Roman Villa discovered at Brislington, Bristol, December, 1899. By W. R. BARKER, Chairman of the Museum Committee (printed for the Committee of the City Museum by W. C. Hemmons, St. Stephen's Street, Bristol, 1s.)—This little *brochure* contains a most interesting and complete account of the finding of a Roman Villa, near Bristol, in the year 1899, under quite unexpected circumstances. The remains were discovered in a field on the northern side of the present Bath Road, near to the Arno's Vale Cemetery, in the course of the construction of a new road, preparatory to building operations ; and as soon as the news came to the knowledge of the members of the Clifton Antiquarian Club, they formed a small committee with the object of carrying out a thorough exploration. Unfortunately, the new road had cut through two of the principal rooms of the Villa before the nature of the remains was realised, and much damage was done to a very beautiful tessellated pavement in one of the rooms. Another pavement, also of beautiful design, was, however, found in another room, and these are both now in the City Museum. The Villa seems to have been of considerable size, and to have been the residence of a Roman gentleman of means.

Numerous coins were found, ranging from Victorinus to Constantius II, a period of about a century.

A complete plan of the Villa is given, and of the two pavements, as well as of that in the passage between the two principal rooms ; a coloured plate of the centre of the pavement, which was cut through by the new road, is reproduced from a beautiful drawing made by Mrs. Flora Bush before it was disturbed ; and there is a view of the hypocausts, which are in good preservation. Some of the most remarkable "finds" were taken from the well, including three complete skeletons and portions of another. Full details are given, and a complete list of all the "finds," which include, besides the coins, stone and flint implements, pottery, glass, ornaments, etc. Most of these are figured on a series of plates. Altogether, this is one of the best accounts of an interesting discovery, and the most scientifically arranged, which it has been our lot to see.

The Welsh People : Chapters on their Origin, History, Laws, Language, etc. By J. RHYS, M.A., and D. BRYNMÔR JONES, LL.B. (2nd Edit. T. Fisher Unwin, 16s.)—This work contains a reprint of several

extracts from the Royal Commission on Land in Wales and Monmouth, with addition of new chapters, and some part written by Mr. F. Seeböhm, the well-known author of *The English Village Community*. The book is readable, interesting and attractive; its size prevents its being more than a series of essays upon prominent historical and social points, rather than a record of all that can be said upon the several subjects of which it takes cognisance. The ethnology of the Goidels, Brythons, Picts, and other ancient peoples who have passed in successive waves of occupancy over this remote corner of Britain, must be read in connection with Prof. Rhys's *Celtic Britain*, and the statements compared or contrasted with what is recorded in that work. The Roman period, the era of the Cymry (six pages), and that from the time of Cadwaladr to the Norman Conquest, A.D. 664-1096, occupy three chapters of more tangible history. To these succeed a review of the principal aspects of the "Ancient Laws and Customs," to which the reader may add much contained in Mr. Hubert Lewis's *Ancient Laws of Wales*, of which we gave a notice at the time of its publication. The next chapters are devoted to the history of the period 1066 to 1282, the Legal and Constitutional History; the History of Land Tenure; the Religious Movement; the Educational Movement; the Language and Literature; and Rural Wales at the present day. It will thus be seen that there is a wide choice of topics for the reader's delectation. From the manners of the people as revealed by the ancient laws and customs to the existing manners described in the concluding chapter, how profound a fall, what a gulf of deterioration, what a divergence of ethics!—due naturally to the corrupting extraneous influence which, under the name of civilisation, destroys the Arcadian—shall we say Utopian—manners of all the primitive races of man. The book will repay perusal, as it gives a very succinct account of many things the general reader will be glad to know more about, removes many current erroneous impressions, and represents the Welsh under their true and most pleasing aspects.

Some Feudal Coats-of-Arms. By JOSEPH FOSTER, M.A. (J. Parker and Co., Oxford.)—This is a new departure in the way of teaching heraldry. Hitherto, the enquirer has had to be content with the *Armory* of Burke or of Berry, and the *Ordinary* of Papworth: works excellent in themselves, but not without serious shortcomings. In this work the author records a vast number of coats-of-arms, never as yet entered into the general text-books; and has given illustrated proofs of his statement by a series of two thousand zinc-etchings from the Bayeux Tapestry, Greek vases, seals, armorial tiles, effigies,

brasses, and Rolls of Arms, liberally displayed as borders on every page of a large quarto book. Mr. Foster lashes the College of Arms with unsparing criticism now and then ; we fear he has not always been received with pleasure by the working staff of that Corporation. On the other hand, he speaks well of the officials of the British Museum, where he appears to have met with universal assistance and sympathy. Of hard work, to which the production of this valuable book testifies, Mr. Foster has not stinted anything, and the result is a reliable book which must take its place in the foremost rank as a worthy companion of the productions of Burke, and Papworth, and other kindred heraldries, now put in the shade to some extent by the gleanings in new fields which the author has entered on. We hope he will perfect his work by the preparation of an *Ordinary*, or dictionary of arms arranged in order of their bearings, whereby so many heraldic antiquities and objects may be attributed to their proper family ownership. Such a work could not be in better hands.

History of Neath Abbey from Documents in the British Museum, the Record Office, at Neath, etc. By W. G. DE BIRCH, LL.D., F.S.A. (J. [E. Richards, Neath.)—This is a companion volume, as far as arrangement and appearance goes, to the *History of Margam Abbey*, recently written by Dr. Birch. It treats of the varying fortunes of the well-known and historical Cistercian Abbey of Glamorganshire, not far from Swansea, and is illustrated with numerous views, plans, seals, and other artistic relics of this once powerful Monastery. The work will be ready at Christmas and a few copies remain after supplying subscribers at the price of £1 1s., to be had on application to the publisher as above. We hope to give a full review of this work in a future *Journal*.

Scottish Architectural Details. By JOHN W. SMALL, F.S.A.Scot. (E. Mackay, Stirling.)—Mr. Small is a past-master in the art of representing Scottish antiquarian architecture with thorough feeling and simple accuracy. He rightly declares that there is not the least doubt of the value of sketches and measured drawings of good examples of old work, and he points to the success of such labour as a sure indication of their useful character. The elegant work before us, filled with drawings of ecclesiastical and domestic art, relics in stone, wood, and metal work, sketched, measured, and re-drawn for the stone by the author, with a short description of each object, makes a veritable album of reference to the architect desirous of imparting

true Scottish detail and effect into his designs, and a most interesting collection of archaeological examples, calculated to improve and perfect the judgment of the antiquary in questions dealing with Scottish remains of the mediæval period. Scotland, from one end to the other, is a storehouse of architectural beauty; most of her abbeys and castles are mines of native wealth, on which the observant student can draw without reserve for inspiration and reflection. Mr. Small has culled some of the choicest gems from this quarry. It would need a dozen such books as his present one to exhaust all that is good in this respect; but we cheerfully render the artist-author his due meed of praise and thanks for so judiciously chosen and so faithfully reproduced a series of Scotland's finest fragments of the best period of her architectural production.

Discovery of Norman Arches in St. Mary's Church, Chatham.—An interesting discovery has been made in pulling down the nave of the parish church of St. Mary, Chatham, for the purpose of rebuilding, some beautiful old Norman arches in the west wall having been brought to light. The work has been temporarily stopped, in order that a special fund may be raised to preserve these and other remains of the old Norman church. From the resemblance of the work to portions of Rochester Cathedral, it is believed that it dates back to the twelfth century, and evidence exists that the Norman church of which it formed part remained standing until the second half of the eighteenth century.





Obituary.

GEO. LAMBERT, F.S.A.

WE have to record, with deep regret, the death of Mr. Geo. Lambert, F.S.A., which took place on September 12th last, in his seventy-eighth year, after a prolonged period of failing health. Mr. Lambert became a life member of the Association in 1870, and for many years was an active and zealous member, as his contributions to the *Journal*, and his various publications on archæological subjects, abundantly prove. He was a frequent attendant at the Congresses, during which his great knowledge of the history of the gold and silversmiths' art, and his correct judgment of the workmanship of the old craftsmen, enabled him without hesitation, on many occasions, to assign to the true date some ancient mace or piece of corporation plate, or regalia, set out for the inspection of the members of the Association at these meetings. The information he was always ready to give upon such matters, and upon church plate at the churches visited, was most valuable, and was always gratefully acknowledged by the several custodians and the associates generally.

Mr. Lambert was one of the most prominent gold and silversmiths in London, and his business in Coventry Street, Haymarket, one of the most celebrated. He was well known in City circles, and had filled many important offices. He was apprenticed to the Goldsmiths' Company in 1837, and filled the office of Prime Warden in 1887, of which circumstance he had a deep appreciation, as being the only apprentice who had attained that distinction for several centuries. Mr. Lambert was a liveryman of many City companies, and a generous supporter of their charities, and a liberal benefactor to the several societies connected with his own Guild of Gold and Silversmiths. Mr. Lambert was an early member of the Volunteer Force, and had attained to the rank of Major V.D.

JOHN REYNOLDS.

DEATH has removed from the ranks of archæologists many well-known individuals during the past twelve months, and our Association has to mourn the loss of several of its members : but Mr. John Reynolds, of Bristol, whose sudden decease in August last we very greatly deplore, was not actually an Associate at the time of his death, as he retired from the Association some few years back. He originally joined, however, in 1875, and for many years was a well-known frequenter of the Congresses. He was an enthusiastic archæologist, and a most diligent worker, and contributed many valuable papers, some to our *Journal*, but the majority to the Bristol and Gloucester Society, of which he was a prominent member. As an authority upon conventual arrangements, and particularly of those of the Cistercian Order, he was thoroughly to be relied upon ; while his knowledge of mediæval architecture was considerable. Mr. Reynolds was one of the founders of the Leland Club, a private society formed for the express purpose of making tours and excursions to places of archæological interest in England and on the Continent. He was never happier than when arranging the details of such a tour, and in personally conducting the party ; and these meetings were much enjoyed by all who took part in them. At the time of his death he was engaged in arranging a tour of a few days to Furness Abbey, Cartmell Priory, Carlisle, and other places, to commence on the 26th of September ; but, alas ! on August 24th, very suddenly indeed, he passed away, at the age of sixty-five years.





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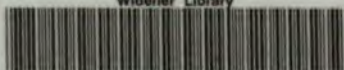
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